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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1738

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOVIET SOLIDARITY DELEGATION DEPARTS--A delegation of the Soviet "Committee of Solidarity with the Asian and African Countries," led by first deputy chairman of the committee Aleksandr Dzasokhov, left the CSSR by air on 10 October. The members of the delegation exchanged views on the development of the situation in the developing countries with CSSR representatives and discussed the current key tasks of the international solidarity movement.
[AU171506 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 79 p 2 AU]

'RUDE PRAVO' DELEGATION IN WARSAW--An international seminar of journalists from 10 socialist countries, which was held in Warsaw recently, was attended by a CSSR delegation led by RUDE PRAVO editor Jan Hrobar. [AU231328 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Oct 79 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2400

ALBANIA

RESPONSE OF MINISTRIES TO CRITICISM IN PRESS EXAMINED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by Spiro Kufo: "Without Waiting to Remind Us"]

[Text] Cast an eye at the responses which have reached ZERI I POPULLIT regarding the important critical articles published on its pages this year and note that during May and June alone the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Durres District has not replied to four such articles. "Why Are Busts and Monuments Lacking in Durres?" is the title of one of these articles. The other three are titled, respectively: "A Faster Pace and Not Self-satisfaction," "Rates which do not Relate to Objectives Set for Work Standardization" and "Bias which Should be Avoided."

Continue to read the replies to the critical articles published this year in ZERI I POPULLIT and among them you will see the response provided in August by the director of the Port of Vlore, which states, "The criticism made on 13 January 1979 in the article entitled, 'Norm Setting Requires Attention, Persuasive Work and Study,' is correct. In the analysis which we made we brought up the need to probe deeper into this problem. On this occasion we emphasize that the problem of technical norms has to do with the mechanization of work processes which, as is known, at the port of Vlore is low. Nevertheless, along with measures we are taking for the mechanization of work processes, with the ministry's assistance we will take steps to implement technical norms at our enterprise on operations where this is feasible."

"The criticism addressed to the education and culture section of the Executive Committee of the Berat District People's Council in April of this year in connection with the drop in the number of village museums is accurate," wrote the person in charge of this section in his reply sent earlier to the editor.

"Nevertheless, we can say that, especially during the last half of last year and so far this year, the problem of working with traditions through museums has been one of the most important problems of the cultural sector in this section. An organized inspection of all museums of all villages set before us a programmed and systematic task to improve the work."

Mentioned further on in this reply are measures which had been taken long before the publication of the critical article (by which, as we said, those criticized are (in agreement) about establishing museums, achievements and only achievements in this field are listed. This is the same as though they said, "You criticized us over nothing.")

Three replies and three different attitudes toward criticism in the press. (These are not the only ones.) One element did not respond at all, as though no one had said anything about them. Others responded after some delay, as if it is not their duty to say something at the proper time when it has the most value. The three spin beautiful phrases far from the heart of the matter and reply formally, as if to "cross the river."

Naturally not all of the replies which reach the press concerning criticism published in its pages are like this. A good part of those criticized have a clear picture of the party's directive about the role of the press as a collective agitator, propagandist and organizer and consider it an important management tool. Therefore, the level of their replies to criticism in the press also says something about the level of their acceptance of this open and public criticism. This forms a firm guarantee for the elimination of shortcomings and correction of the situation. One characteristic of these replies is their being sent on time and especially the arrangements made in them for specific and effective measures so these shortcomings are not repeated. The newspapers have opened their arms to the publication of these responses because in this way they aid in the better understanding of the important constructive role of public criticism which, due to the nature of our press, expresses the voice and line of the masses.

The examples cited at the start of this article are far removed from this, even though the secretariat of the Party Central Committee long ago recommended: "The important critical articles appearing in ZERI I POPULLIT or other organs should be laid out for discussion at joint meetings of communists and all workers at the work center which is the target of the criticism. At these meetings the article should be read, criticism and self-criticism should be made, specific measures should be defined to improve the situation and the newspaper should be informed of this within the month."

Why does this happen? This question was asked at the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the Ministry of Agriculture and the executive committees of the Kruje District and Tirana District People's Councils during consultations which the apparatus of the Council of Ministers and the editors of several press organs organized. Could this question be given a reply such as this: "We did not do this because we forgot," or "We did not do this through carelessness"? Logic says "no." You cannot deny that which is undeniable. Daily routine often creates work itself, such that a while back the Ministry of Light Industry and Food, the Ministry of Communication and the Ministry of Construction phoned the editor at the end of the quarter or half-year (whenever they hear from higher up) and said to him: "Could you please tell

us what criticism has been directed at us in your newspaper during this period?" It is clear why they have done this. They have not taken note of the criticism in the press about their ministries, much less about the enterprises associated with them. The result? Conjecture worked (as a result of underestimating the problem) and two managing directors in the Ministry of Agriculture sent to ZERI I POPULLIT their reply to criticism about soil drainage published in the newspaper BASHKIMI! This phase is now almost overcome and the documentation of criticism in the press is getting better. However, they will point out something fundamental which came up at a consultation. Almost all who spoke up said, "Our record keepers are like clockwork. They neither forget nor err. Even if we do not think about it, they do not let it go and remind us, 'Comrade, you have to issue a reply to criticism in the press.'"

No one suggests that criticism in the press should not be documented at the ministry, the executive committee of the district people's council or elsewhere. This needs to be done and done even better, avoiding all formalism, because through this criticism the party organizations, the consultative organs, department directorates and others under them can derive valuable lessons to improve their affairs. Based on this criticism, they can conduct analyses and reach conclusions for this purpose. To be precise, this also presupposes good use of the press, the powerful arm of the party without which leadership is difficult.

However, this does not mean that the individual criticized can forget about it because someone will remind him that he must reply to the criticism in the press. To the contrary, he himself must live with the criticism made about him and check with the party organization, the directorate and the trade union organization (as appropriate) about the response he must make to the press so it will be as self-critical as possible and serve the purpose for which it is intended: improvement of affairs. In all cases it is advisable for the party organizations above all (and party committees where necessary) to make ideological and political estimates of the problem, arriving at conclusions about their leadership effort. The party has even asked that, with regard to the important critical articles and generally the problematical articles in the press, interested parties should draw conclusions (informing the pertinent editors of this), even in cases where they are not directly involved, but who have something to learn from others' shortcomings and from problems which disturb others. Otherwise it cannot be said that "we use the press and learn from it." This is correct. In principle, all can say that the role of the press is great, but when its critical and problematical articles are kept quiet, when late replies are provided to these articles or an answer is given just to "get by," this means that this principle is not being applied in practice. In other words, consideration is not given to the role of the press, which also has the lofty mission to develop rigorous, just and principled criticism against all shortcomings and errors in our affairs and to thrash them out. It will

thus become a powerful means of agitation, propaganda, organization and mobilization and, with man at the epicenter, will assist in the education of the masses and contribute strongly to sweeping out the remnants of the past in the various fields of our sound socialist society.

5658

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'PRAVDA' DESCRIBES WEAKNESS OF LER EXPERIMENT, PROPOSES REMEDY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Oct 79 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Meeting Our Needs"]

[Text] If we were to take a poll asking people to tell us, without lengthy deliberation, what they think of in the concept of satisfying needs most of them, in formulating their replies, would immediately think of their own personal needs. Only a few would remember that production also has its needs. Such forgetfulness of an important aspect of any kind of problem would not be very bad in our improvised poll. It is worse if such forgetfulness shows up in practice, if an important thing is underrated in practice or actually is deliberately bypassed. And it is even worse if some such thing happens, if only to certain leading economic workers.

We can already hear the objections, that we are unfairly trying to cast suspicion on economic workers, that this is tendentious, untrue, and so on. In that case then, there could also be no truth in what Prime Minister L. Strougal, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, said at the recent celebration of this year's Day of Miners and Energy Workers. Let us recall his open remarks: "The imbalance in supply and demand relations has intensified this year and fulfillment of sub-deliveries and spare parts to final producers worsened in certain sectors... Certain enterprises /are only looking after their own interests/ (editorial emphasis) ignoring the requirements of others—even though they are matters of social concern and efficient production. And so various materials, parts and components are lacking which makes it impossible to complete end products or finish investment construction. In the end, the efficiency of all our collective work is thereby reduced." The truth of this assertion cannot be denied. The abuses which some suppliers inflict on consumers (unwillingness to take on obligations and to sign delivery contracts, non-fulfillments of agreements and various ruses at the expense of the consumer) are evidence of how they underrate such an important thing as giving first place to meeting the needs of production. Everything that we need for our existence we must produce ourselves. To underrate the material requirements of production in the end always leads to reducing the possibility of satisfying our needs for life and culture.

It appears though, that matters are not always clear enough even in the theoretical sphere. In one economic treatise concerning an analysis of our economic practices, we can read this, for example: "In connection with fulfilling the tasks of end production we cannot overlook certain critical observations on the subject of supplies for production usage which /have much greater/ (editorial emphasis) importance than supplies for end use." This kind of view can scarcely be considered correct. Supplies for production are always of first importance. If, for example, material supplies for the furniture industry are not assured, naturally this will show up in inadequate supplies of furniture on the market as well as inadequate fulfillment of export quotas. The same applies to the production of footwear and clothing but also to machinery and equipment, to housing construction, buildings for public use and to transportation where, for example, the lack of supplies of spare parts for the maintenance and repair of locomotives could cause not only railroad breakdowns but also great damage to the whole national economy.

Long ago simple peasants knew the importance of giving top priority to assuring production. They knew that if they wanted to create the conditions for good future crops they had to use the best seeds not for their own consumption but for the requirements of production. They would not let their best grain be ground up into flour but used it for seed. To make certain of production first of all, that is the law of nature and its validity has not changed even after the reorganization of agriculture into large-scale socialist production. This law applies likewise to the other branches of our socialist national economy. Disregarding it creates the basis for many disparities and unnecessary difficulties and drawn off the manpower and resources of society in order to eliminate them later.

However, we would not be fair and objective if we did not mention that in the area of supply and demand there are also other cases which we can boldly take as examples and support their expansion and emulation. In the top ranks of development of truly socialist relations in our national economy are those supplier enterprises which make joint socialist commitments with consumers with the aim of insuring collective efficiency of production and high quality of products. Such initiatives are examples of properly giving priority to social interests over the narrow interests of the enterprise or, in other words, properly harmonizing enterprise interests with the highest interests of society.

Joint socialist commitments thus also help bridge one of the important gaps which, in spite of everything positive, still exist in our comprehensive experiment of controlling efficiency and quality. This is the fact that we cannot assure fulfillment of deliveries for production usage either by mandatory specification of tasks or by a system of material personal and enterprise stimulation even though, in the case of end production, we make use of both mandatory specifications as well as material interestedness of individuals and collectives.

The enterprises involved in the experiment called particular attention to this gap from the very beginning. They asked how they could experiment and fulfill important tasks if their suppliers did not have any binding commitments to them. Although the ministries did make specifications for certain important items of production usage, applicable for the last 3 years of the five-year plan, in practice this does not suffice and the problems of insuring production through supplies must be solved comprehensively and systematically.

An example of the proper solution to these kinds of fundamental problems is found in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on improving management of the Soviet national economy (an extensive article containing an explanation of the resolution was published in PRAVDA on 3 August 1979). Close study of this document shows that problems of insuring production are always given top consideration in it. It is even formally stressed that insuring the needs of production through supplies is indispensable not only to achieve a smooth pace of production in the whole national economy but particularly in order to insure its development and widespread reproduction. Without this the plans for meeting the constantly growing needs of the population would not be on a firm footing. Without meeting this important indicator the other indicators of plan fulfillment cannot have their full value.

"The results of the economic activity of production associations (enterprises) in industry," says the article on the resolution, "should be evaluated and their economic stimulation should be effected primarily /according to fulfillment of plans of deliveries of products designated for technological production/ (editorial emphasis) and of consumer goods according to nomenclature (selection) and within the time limits set by agreements (orders), according to increased labor productivity, improved quality of products and increased profits (in certain branches according to reduced actual costs)."

In the same way the operations of construction and assembly organizations will also be evaluated and their economic stimulation will be /based on the results of bringing production capacities and installations into operation/. Only in second place is there mention of evaluating according to the volume of building production and according to the growth of labor productivity. The tasks and obligations of the whole management sphere are also being set in this spirit. At the same time particular attention is drawn to determining methods of working out material balances for a 10-year period, a 5-year one and even for 1 year. Satisfying /the needs of the national economy and the population/, insofar as products of essential selection and quality go, is the responsibility of the ministries to which production of the given products belong. This principle leads consequently to the area of remuneration. They emphasize the necessity for production associations (enterprises) to make disbursements for bonuses from incentive

and wage funds particularly to stimulate the better qualitative indicators and meeting obligations for delivery of products in accordance with agreements (orders) concluded with due regard to the results of socialist competition.

Emphasizing the prime importance of giving top consideration to the needs of production does not mean that this is an attempt to deny the existence of objective obstacles too, which get in the way in the formation of supply and demand relations. But it is important that these objective obstacles not become a screen to cover up their own deficiencies or an opportunity for taking unilateral advantage of their positions as suppliers to the detriment of the consumers. The state of supply and demand relationships is largely the result of the actions of people, primarily leading economic workers. In their hands, therefore, rests the question of improving them and thereby also overcoming difficulties--objective as well as subjective.

8491
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

REACTION TO BREZHNEV'S OFFER--Bratislava--The plans to deploy new U.S. missiles in West Europe represent an attempt to change the strategic situation in Europe, to tilt the balance of forces in favour of NATO, PRAVDA wrote Monday. If these plans were realized, the socialist countries would have to take necessary measures to strengthen their security. Participants in the campaign on the so-called "threatening growth of the Soviet military force" make such hasty statements that they contradict one another. According to the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, for instance, detente will be seriously endangered if Leonid Brezhnev's speech in Berlin meets with positive response in West Europe. Readers are to believe that the adoption of big armament programs is the best start of military detente, the daily said. [Text] [LD220946 Prague CTK in English 0813 GMT 22 Oct 79 LD]

DETENTE FORUM DELEGATE INTERVIEWED--Prague--A road towards the continuation of detente in Europe, unthinkable without disarmament, can be sought in the dialogue of representatives of various political streams at the European forum on detente in Europe, disarmament and military relaxation, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the event Bohuslav Kucera has told Ceteka. This forum will take place in Belgium October 26-28. Bohuslav Kucera, Federal Assembly deputy chairman, mentioned the current NATO attempts to gain superiority in Europe, and the NATO plans to station cruise missiles and Pershing 2 rockets in Western countries. Such a development "would be very dangerous and Warsaw Treaty member states, mindful of their defence, would have to take counter-measures." The deputy chairman recalled the latest Soviet disarmament initiative and stressed that "the world public must necessarily respond to these proposals" really directed towards the first steps in arms reduction in Europe, building of confidence between states and development of other forms of European cooperation--in politics, economics, culture, the solution of humanitarian and other problems. The public opinion can play a great role in this, the deputy chairman said and stressed the great responsibility of politicians, leaders of social as well as religious organizations for making Europe a continent of peace. [Text] [LD222154 Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 22 Oct 79 LD]

AGREEMENT WITH VNA--An agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Orbis News Agency and the Vietnamese VNA News Agency has been signed in Hanoi. [Text] [AU071842 Prague LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE in Czech 3 Oct 79 p 2 AU]

ZAPU REPRESENTATIVE DEPARTS--I. L. Nyahi, ZAPU representative for Central Europe and member of the ZAPU Revolutionary Council, left Prague on 19 October. At the invitation of the CSSR committee of solidarity with the nations of Africa, Nyahi had had talks with representatives of Czechoslovak social organizations. [AU231328 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 79 p 2 AU]

PRIVATE ARMS ARSENAL DISCOVERED--At his place of work the 25-year old Milan K. fired a pistol, which was illegally in his possession, into the wall. During the house search that followed the police discovered five more pistols, a military rifle and a large quantity of ammunition. [AU241316 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Oct 79 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2020

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1979 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 79 p 2

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34, No 9/10, Sep-Oct 79, signed to press 9 Aug 79, pp 897-1104: "Thirty Years GDR--The Work of Millions. Double Issue of EINHEIT With Contributions on the Anniversary of Our Worker and Peasant State." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below, except those of the 'Reminiscences' features, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] On the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, EINHEIT is published as a double issue. The lead article in the journal's issue No 9/10 is authored by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. Under the heading, "The Triumphant Progress of Socialism on German Soil," Erich Honecker pays tribute to the GDR's founding as a "turning point in the history of the German people and Europe." This definitive article declares: "Our state has made a great contribution to the guarantee that no war will ever again emanate from German soil. Its 30-year history, moreover, is an unequivocal testimony to the vital strength of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The 30 years of the GDR constitute three decades of creative work by millions of working people." The program adopted by our party's Ninth Congress, Erich Honecker emphasizes, "outlines the prospects for the building of communism through the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. We are justified in saying that socialism successfully continues its triumphant progress on German soil."

Additional key contributions by members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo discuss the basis of our successful 30-year development and the tasks facing us now. In his article on "State and State Awareness in the 30th Year of Our Republic," Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, makes the point that conscious affirmation of the socialist state and civic responsibility today mark the motivation of millions of people in city and country.

Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, writes on "Socialist Democracy--Its Development and Perfection" and underlines the participation of the citizens of our country in the decisions on state matters and their cooperation in the development of the national economy.

The subsequent contributions deal with the following topics: Hermann Axen on "The GDR in the World Revolutionary Process"; Guenter Mittag, "Socialist Planned Economy for the Benefit of the People, for the Strengthening of Our Republic"; Gerhard Grueneberg, "The Creative Implementation of Lenin's Cooperative Plan in GDR Agriculture"; Harry Tisch, "The Work of Millions"; Heinz Hoffmann, "We Stand Guard Over Our Achievements"; Konrad Naumann, "Berlin--For 30 Years the Capital of the GDR"; Egon Krenz, "GDR--Fatherland of the Young."

EINHEIT moreover publishes the following articles: "The Strength of Proletarian Internationalism and the Development of the GDR" (by Anatoliy G. Yegorov), "Struggling for Peace and Detente" (by Oskar Fischer), "Socialist Economic Integration--A Decisive Guarantee for Our Development" (by Gerhard Weiss), "With the People--For the People" (by Hanna Wolf), "Real and Unreal Socialism" (by Otto Reinhold), "High Net Income for the Benefit of Our Society" (by Helmut Koziolek) and "The Heritage of Marxism-Leninism--Legacy and Commitment (by Guenter Heyden).

The above are followed by contributions on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the policy of our party (by Manfred Banaschak), on the broad development of socialism's driving forces (by Erich Hahn), on the part played by art and literature in shaping consciousness (by Hans Koch), on the relationship between ideal and reality in our society (by Wolfgang Eichhorn I), on the birth and growth of the socialist German nation (by Alfred Kosing and Walter Schmidt) and on the failure of imperialist plans to liquidate the GDR (by Max Schmidt).

In the 'Reminiscences' feature section, Dr Walter Bartel (professor emeritus, member, central management presidium, GDR Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters) writes about Wilhelm Pieck, the president of the first German worker and peasant state, while Hans Jendretzky (SED Central Committee member, Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] faction in People's Chamber) describes the day of the founding of our republic. Dr Alexander Abusch (member, SED CC and EINHEIT editorial board) reports on the political and cultural struggle in the decisive year of 1949.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR LEADERS REVIEW NATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS, PROSPECTS ON 30th ANNIVERSARY

Honecker: Socioeconomic Achievements

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34 No 9/10, Sep-Oct 79 signed to press
9 Aug 79 pp 899-907

[Lead article by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman: "The Triumphant Progress of Socialism on German Soil"]

[Text] Our people, under SED leadership, has in three decades passed through penetrating revolutionary changes in all domains of public life. In this, the party has always relied on the strength of the workers class and all other working people and applied the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution to the concrete conditions in our country. The continued shaping of the developed socialist society calls for constantly perfecting the various public domains. In this, a key position belongs to an efficient economy on a high scientific-technical level. In our balance-sheet belongs our constructive contribution, alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, to the cause of peace.

Thirty years will have passed on 7 October 1979 since the founding of the GDR, the first socialist worker and peasant state on German soil. In these three decades, our people, under SED leadership, has passed through penetrating revolutionary changes in all domains of public life. This has been a hard road of constant bitter class struggle against imperialism. It has been a successful path. Great things have been achieved. Today already it may be said that on German soil too socialism has proven its superiority over capitalism.

The founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe. Without the GDR the world can already no longer be imagined. Our state has made a great contribution to the guarantee that no war will ever again emanate from German soil. Its 30-year history, moreover, is an unequivocal testimony to the vital strength of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The 30 years of the GDR constitute three decades of creative work by millions of working people.

If we, on the basis of the Ninth SED Congress decisions, assign the task to ourselves of continuing the development of socialist society, thereby creating the preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, the results come in the enormous changes achieved for the benefit of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people. Among us too socialism has proven throughout the three decades behind us that it is the social order which conforms to the true interests of the people and guarantees social security and safety, freedom, democracy and human dignity for all citizens.

The New, Socialist Germany

In this 30-year history of the GDR, the people's right to political, socio-economic and national self-determination has been made to prevail. The GDR is a politically stable, economically healthy, internationally recognized and respected worker and peasant state, irrevocably defying all attacks from our enemies. It vividly expresses the law by which our time moves from capitalism to socialism.

The GDR embodies the new, the socialist Germany. Its history is closely tied to the triumph of the Red October. Created in the outcome of World War II and postwar developments, it has allied itself with the Soviet Union forever and dissolubly belongs among the great society of free nations in which the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are brought to realization. This is the kind of German state of which generations of revolutionary workers, humanists and democrats, the antifascist resistance fighters, and the best sons and daughters of our people had been dreaming, and for which they had fought. The GDR fulfills the legacy of the fighters in the glorious Soviet Army who gave their lives for liberating humanity from fascist bondage.

With the founding of the GDR, socialism started its triumphal march in the homeland of Marx and Engels. For the first time a state arose on German soil which had learned from history and uprooted imperialism and militarism totally. The exploitation of man by man was abolished. The good of the people became the supreme principle of party and government policy, and of the everyday conduct by millions. Production and its growth are aimed, to quote Lenin, at "insuring the highest well-being and free all-round development of all members of society."¹ In harmony with the constant improvement of the material standard of living, the cultural one likewise improves. The party program, as adopted at the ninth party congress, offers a clear guideline up to the coming millenium.

Thirty years GDR have been 30 years of struggle for peace and socialism. When our republic was founded, many of its towns and villages still lay in ruins. The lives of many people still were marked by the consequences of war, by reactionary mindlessness, the fascist inheritance, by confusion and resignation. Through a diplomatic and economic blockade our capitalist surroundings hoped to be able to suffocate our republic.

Looking at what has been achieved, at the GDR of today, makes clear the great change that has taken place in the last three decades. The GDR celebrates its 30th anniversary under the sign of worldwide recognition in terms of international law. It holds membership in the United Nations and its special organizations. There are 128 states that maintain diplomatic relations with it. It is known for its constructive approach to solving all problems of peace, detente and disarmament. International respect has come--to mention but a few matters--for the dynamic development of its economy, its unified socialist educational system, its system of public health, its culture, the fostering of mother and child, the development of physical culture and sports, and the various possibilities the working people find for recreation.

What the workers class, the farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all working people in our country have achieved in the three decades, under SED leadership, justifies our feeling satisfaction and pride. It demonstrates what creative capacities a people is capable of that has burst the chains of capitalist government with its profiteering and has taken its destiny into its own hands. Many hard efforts, and not a few sacrifices, were needed to help the GDR rise to the peaks of today. It was all so successful because the party and the people are inextricably tied together and their interests and goals are inseparable, and because in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries the GDR has found loyal friends on whom it always can rely.

Three decades are not a very long time, in terms of history. That is all the more so when it becomes a matter of the formation of an entirely new state and of its successful development. This development was possible in the GDR because it is based on the most progressive social system mankind has ever produced, on socialism as the first phase of the communist society.

In Service to the People

In conformity with the laws for its social advance, the workers class, together with its allies, and under our party's leadership, has used its political power prudently. That was true particularly for setting up and consolidating the socialist production relations in conformity with the requirements for the development of the productive forces. From the outset to this very day, our party has never let these basic questions out of sight.

While during the first years the socialist property relations in industry, and subsequently in agriculture, were shaped in their main features, they have by now become, in fact, the sole form of property. Building on that

foundation, we are consciously and systematically structuring our socialist production relations by applying the Leninist doctrines on the process of the socialization of labor. In industry this is expressed, for example, in the development of the combines directly under the ministries and their increased economic responsibility. In agriculture it is seen by those forms that derive from progress.

The dialectical connection between quantitative and qualitative development also applies to forming the material-technical base of socialism. From an economic structure heavily marked by the destructions of war and distorted by vast disproportions, by way of growth an economic structure was created in socialist industry, socialist agriculture and other areas which, by and large, exists in an equilibrium. That is an important achievement. Because its results form the basis for GDR social progress as such. With the formation of a material-technical base conforming to the requirements of today's socialist development, penetrating qualitative changes are connected aiming at higher efficiency in our economy at large. There is no other way to explain that our republic today, with a number of manpower that hardly increased during three decades, produces a national income that is seven times as high as in the year it was founded.

Our productive forces have reached an unproportionately higher stage today than in 1949. In conformity with the socialist character of the production relations, they took an upsurge many had not thought possible at the time. Thanks to our people's efforts and to the stable development of our economy, the GDR has won a place among the 10 strongest industrial nations in the world. Whereas in 1949, we had produced national income of approximately M 22 billion, it had come to more than M 161 billion in 1978. A per capita national income of circa M 1,200 in 1949 came to one of M 9,600 in 1978. While in 1949, one working day produced industrial commodities at a value of M 100 million, in 1978 it came to M 1 billion. Investments in 1949 came to M 2.8 billion and in 1978, to M 50.8 billion. Retail trade turnover rose from M 13.8 billion to M 92.5 billion.

The upswing our country took from decade to decade was remarkable. That is given expression by the significant progress in working and living conditions. Housing construction has been conspicuous. It reached an unprecedented scope in the 1970's. It increasingly became the centerpiece of our sociopolitical program. In it, we have given ourselves the goal to newly build or modernize 3.5 dwelling units from 1971 to 1990. That is an enormous task, if it is taken into consideration that not until 1952 did we find it possible to start our systematic housing construction. Whereas in the year the GDR was founded 29,800 apartments were completed, in 1978, we completed 167,800, of which 111,900 were new and 55,900 modernized. During the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan, instead of the scheduled 500,000 apartments, 609,000 were newly built or modernized. The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan had scheduled 750,000 apartments. Based on the trade union initiative, as many as 850,000 are now anticipated. Facts like these demonstrate that we are about to solve the housing question as a social problem with success, by 1990, as has been our intention.

The equality between man and woman is very important in the life of our people, reflecting the profound changes that have been made in our society. Even those who are not favorably inclined toward our worker and peasant state will have to admit that the woman's position has fundamentally changed in our society. Some 87.6 percent of the women at working age had jobs in 1978. The principle of equal pay for equal work has been put into effect. The women's level of skill has constantly improved, and they are to an increasing extent in executive functions in all public domains. Hand in hand with that came the benefits for the family, mainly the working mothers. For the first time in the history of our people, each pregnancy entitles to half a year of predelivery leave, and when a second and any additional children are born, the mother gets full pay to the end of the child's first year of life. That our country welcomes the birth of children also is, in fact, reflected by that the number of new births has considerably increased since 1975.

The goal of the workers movement, "equal educational chances for all," has been attained in the GDR. All the children of our people now get a solid education in their 10-grade polytechnical secondary school. That is preceded by their being placed in creches and kindergartens. Everyone is assured of thorough vocational training and of a future job. Since the GDR was founded, 1.2 million young people have graduated from a technical school or university. For the socialist educational system, including universities and technical schools, our state spent approximately M 1.1 billion in 1950, M 3.6 billion in 1960, and a total of M 9.5 billion in 1978. While youth in socialism follows a socially secure path with clear perspectives, in capitalism large segments of youth are declared a "generation without future," marked a "problem group," surrendered to drug addiction and crime, and disfranchised as citizens. Of the 20 million unemployed in the 24 developed industrial states of the capitalist world, circa 40 percent, that is nearly 8 million, is below 25 years of age. More than 6 million young people in the capitalist European countries alone are practically denied their right to work or training.

Looking at the development of culture and art, one finds confirmed there too how great the creative forces are that socialism releases, makes usable for all the people and opens up to the enrichment of their intellectual lives. Our state has always carefully promoted this development, not least through considerable material means. In 1950, it allocated M 312 million for it, in 1960, as much as M 649 million, and in 1978, nearly M 2.2 billion. Folk art activity has steadily risen. Cultural work is an established component of any contract of an enterprise collective. These achievements cannot be separated from the steady improvement of the material situation of the people in our country. In fact, the combination between them is of great importance for the new, socialist way of life beginning to form in the course of years. The creators of culture and art in our country have made an outstanding contribution to the development of a socialist national culture, and thus to world culture. The great humanistic and revolutionary legacy of the history of our people has been extended and enriched.

What catches the eye is the change of man, of his place in society, due to the revolutionary change in the manner in which our people lives. Among all the things foreign visitors of the GDR see and perceive, this is what they always make a special point of as the most remarkable.

Power--The Cardinal Issue for Any Revolution

Mainly two facts were crucial for the GDR's becoming so strong in its 30 years. First, through uniting the KPD with the SPD and establishing the SED from that unification, the workers class cleavage was surmounted and a revolutionary foundation was provided for this unity. Second, in the form of the GDR the workers class, in alliance with the farmers and the other working people, established and consolidated its political rule. It created the socialist worker and peasant state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus we brought to realization the fundamental lessons in the history of the international and the German workers movement. We took the steps necessary for the workers class to be able to live up to its historic mission. In advancing further, our party also always applied Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory to the concrete conditions in our country. It drew on the experiences of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. On that basis it was in the position to enable our country's workers class to establish and exercise its political rule.

Lenin has taught us "to concentrate all attention on the next step, that is, on finding the form for the transition to the proletarian revolution or for the approach to it."² Thus at the start of our unified revolutionary process in 1945, it was not the socialist revolution our party put on the agenda but the main thrust of the antifascist-democratic transformation under the slogan "Expropriating the War and Nazi Criminals," directed against monopoly capital and large landed property. The party proceeded from Lenin's realization that the revolution aiming at doing away with monopoly capitalist rule was not bound to lead to establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat at once, did not have to assume a socialist character immediately, but might begin as a democratic, anti-imperialist transformation. What our party considered the most important was to enable the workers class to lead in all domains of society and to establish a broad alliance with the farmers, the intelligentsia and the urban middle-class strata. The party established and promoted our friendly cooperation with the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front.

Establishing socialist state power was the most important act in the transition to the socialist revolution. At the same time it was the decisive premise for socialistically transforming all public domains. For the question of power, as one knows, is the cardinal issue for any revolution. We were aware, and acted accordingly, that the responsibility of the workers class and its party would have to become significantly greater while solving the new historic task of managing a state and, with it, the whole political, economic and intellectual-cultural development of a country.

The experiences of the three decades of the GDR confirm that i.e construction of socialism is possible only when the workers class exercises, and reliably protects, the political power. However different the forms may be in which this power is won, "the basic prerequisite for establishing the socialist social order is the conquest of political power by the workers class. In this, it allies itself with the other working people."³ We have always borne in mind this general inevitability of socialist revolution and socialist construction while taking account of the changed world situation and of our internationalist responsibility, as set down in the SED's "principles and goals" of 1946.

Strengthening Economic Efficiency

From the beginning, the worker and peasant power in the GDR paid great attention to the socialist planned economy. By its help, the destruction of war was surmounted within a relatively short time, and dynamic development was provided for the economy. However diverse the demands were of course in the various sectors of our development, the common features marking our actions at all times are clearly evident. The SED always relied on the strength of the workers class and all working people, on socialist competition constantly gaining in breadth and quality. In particular we could count on the solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, on socialist economic integration systematically developing. At the same time we were incessantly forced to turn back attacks from the imperialist enemy--the economic blockade and overt sabotage all the way to currency speculation and dealing in human lives. Threats, blackmail maneuvers, attempts to talk us into "market economy" considerations were brought to nought. Our party always sought and found the solution for new problems on the premise of the socialist planned economy and of further developing democratic centralism in economic management.

The whole development of the GDR proves that our party always sought to further extend the advantages of socialism--for the benefit of the people and true to our internationalist responsibility to the communist world movement. Of course, such a penetrating and all-inclusive process of revolutionarily transforming old and shaping new social relations does not come without problems and difficulties. Not always can the fruits that process produces for the people be recognized at once to the fullest extent. It may be called characteristic especially of the 1970's that the advantages of socialism are constantly becoming more apparent and benefit the people. The focal point of our tasks today is to fully display the possibilities in socialist production relations. The development of our material-technical base must be assured at a level that conforms to the upward trend in the modern productive forces and to the scientific-technical revolution and its requirements. For the point is to elevate the people's material and cultural standard of living and to create the prerequisites necessary for that.

Important reserves for enhancing our economic efficiency have already been tapped, and we are extending them further. Partly, they are not comparable

to previous volumes and qualities. As an example, let us take the fact that in 1976, through a one percent growth in economically important energy sources and raw and other materials, industrial commodity production in the area of the industrial ministries rose by 1.9 percent, practically doubled. In 1978, however, through a one percent growth in energy and material, we achieved a 3.4 percent growth in industrial commodity production. That was possible only because gigantic reserves had been mobilized. This is the way that charts our future.

Today we have in the GDR an efficient socialist economy with a modern management system well equipped for present and future tasks. In conformity with the ninth party congress decisions, we are constantly perfecting it further. Essential conditions for accelerating scientific-technical progress and a greater economic and social effectiveness of it were laid by the forming and further development of efficient combines. The combines' action radius has been enlarged, which makes it possible for the central economic management organs to concentrate more on elaborating the strategic overall economic tasks. This meant making still better use of the advantages of our socialist social order.

Our party has extensively worked out the economic requirements having to do with the shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. Stressed as a main task was the further rise of the people's material and cultural standard of living based on high developmental speed in socialist production, enhanced efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth of labor productivity. The combined economic and social policy obtained the new quality that is characteristic of our further advances. The connection between production and the people's needs became closer. In this, our party drew essential scientific conclusions from the stage of social development attained. The course of the main task accelerated social development and thereby released considerable energies for increasing production.

This made it possible for us to continue successfully with the implementation of the greatest sociopolitical program in the GDR's history. The indispensable prerequisite for that lies in significantly improving economic efficiency and in systematic economic growth, mainly through production intensification. In conformity with the requirements for the shaping of the developed socialist society and the conditions in our country, our party has unequivocally focused on that main course. What matters now is to increase the intensification tempo and more rapidly obtain results of economic consequence. Qualitative factors control the leeway for growth. More national income, especially by an improved materials economy and a more thorough use of working hours and production plants--that is what our economic policy aims at.

It is only logical that science and technology hold a prominent rank in our conception. As our party policy, for the good of the people, has such fine results to show for, and this development is to be assured further, it would increasingly depend on our ability to produce and master modern technologies and make extensive economic use of them. That our party has drawn conclusions

of principle here is illustrated by the efforts made in developing micro-electronics. Achievements in that field which would also stand up well on the international scale presuppose considerable creative results in many economic branches. There is a close connection between a top performance in selected areas and the broad application of scientific-technical progress.

The continued shaping of the developed socialist society which the ninth party congress decided on requires the constant perfecting of the various areas in our public life. A key position for that is held by an efficient economy on a high scientific-technical plane. By such an industry and agriculture alone can we make full economic use also of the GDR working people's educational level and production experiences and, on the other side, assure the material foundations for further developing the various areas of life.

In League With the Soviet Union and the Other Fraternal Countries

From five-year plan to five-year plan we have further deepened our fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community. The high level of this common effort today is directly interrelated with the maturity of socialist life in our country and with the dynamics in its development. Our main partner in this economic cooperation is the Soviet Union with its mighty scientific-technical potential. In the time of the hard beginning, foodstuffs and tractors came from that country of Lenin's, and Soviet communists in the SAG enterprises at the time furnished their German class brothers with their first socialist management experiences. This fellowship always was a vital condition for the stability and prosperity of the economy in our country. Our togetherness is being purposefully further extended at the present time. That is also being served by the elaboration of the specialization and cooperation program with its far-reaching projects.

It is of decisive importance to our republic that it firmly belongs to the most dynamic economic region in the world as a member of CEMA, which had its 30th anniversary recently. For the next decade, CEMA's long-term target programs are outlining the main contours of our cooperation. Important problems of our time, like coping with the scientific-technical revolution or insuring energy and raw material supplies, also always are a challenge for further extending our economic integration. In this sense it is that the GDR is developing its activities within the CEMA framework. It lets itself in this be guided by the fundamental interests of our people and contributes to the strengthening of the entire family of socialist nations.

Peace and the worker and peasant power, peace and socialism, are one and the same. Also especially in this respect has the existence of the socialist GDR proven itself as an important factor. And it has been confirmed all along in this that our republic could successfully live up to its international role for the same reason that decisively explains its growing strong domestically--for we have always made more solid our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist family of nations. By our common and coordinated approach in the world arena we managed to bring it about that

Europe is experiencing the thus far longest peace period in its history. The devilish vicious circle caused by German imperialism in which one postwar period would always again give rise to another prewar period, and ultimately to war, finally was broken. Even though the most aggressive circles in the FRG, the United States and other imperialist countries were engaged for many years in a Cold War against socialism, which ran counter to the interests of the peoples and brought them bad harm, the turn to detente nevertheless prevailed. In that the GDR also, alongside the Soviet Union and its other Warsaw Pact allies, invested no mean effort. In our talking with pride of the balance-sheet of three decades, what belongs way out in front here is the fact that we have effectively and honorably contributed to the cause of peace. Men's experiences have corroborated the party's finding that the all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland, the GDR, is of greatest importance for a present and future without war.

Enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders, which also governs the course and foreign policy activities of our republic, has borne good fruit for the benefit of all nations. As the external conditions improved for the construction of socialism and communism in our countries, the possibilities also expanded for the struggle of the national and social liberation movement in the world. In all this, however, it could not be otherwise but that the conflict was exacerbated with those forces that fancied a return to the Cold War because from that they would promise themselves better chances for their aggressive, counter-revolutionary imperialist goals. The question of war and peace has become the main question of our days. For us, a special internationalist responsibility follows from it in participating in its decision on the side of peace, in the interest of humanity, as the GDR is located at the interstice of the two social systems, socialism and imperialism, and of the alliance systems of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

What forms the fulcrum and pivot for reliably preserving peace over the long run today is the ending of the arms race and achieving an arms limitation and concrete disarmament measures. We set great store by the outcome of the Vienna meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and James Carter and by the signing of SALT II because they signify an important milestone on the path meant to make possible the continuation of detente and to lead to disarmament. The GDR, as our ninth party congress decided, will spare no efforts in the future either and do what it can so that we will get to new positive results of peaceful coexistence in international developments, to results that will serve, stabilize and promote detente.

We cannot ignore, of course, the astronomical elevation of NATO's arms expenditures and the eagerness with which, under various pretexts, it keeps designing and introducing new kinds of weapons. In view of such war preparations, unabashedly directed against the socialist countries, we have no other alternative but to guarantee the GDR's defense capability always on the requisite plane in accordance with the joint determinations made by the Warsaw Pact member states.

The foreign policy of our socialist state remains fully and completely committed to the noble humanistic goal making peace the normal form of life among the nations. With that we combine our active solidary support for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, whose struggle for freedom, independence and progress, for a better life, is part of the struggle which, during our era of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, is being conducted for securely preserving peace, for a happy existence for mankind.

In the GDR's three decades our people has coped with a considerable measure of historic changes. As living conditions changed under socialism, so every individual himself also changed. The party program adopted by the ninth party congress already outlines the prospects for the building of communism through the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. We are justified in saying that socialism successfully continues its triumphant progress on German soil.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on Plekhanev's Second Draft Program," "Werke" (Works), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 40.
2. V. I. Lenin, "'Left Wing Radicalism'--An Infantile Disorder in Communism," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1966, p 79.
3. "SED Principles and Goals," "Dokumente der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Documents), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1948, p 9.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 141, 14 Sep 79 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Stoph Calls on State Organs for 'Bonds With People.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by the GDR Council of Ministers chairman, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR head-of-government Willi Stoph has emphasized that the "all-round promotion of civic thinking and conduct" at present and in the future was "one of the most important tasks" of all party and state organs and social organizations. In EINHEIT he asked all state organs to conduct their permanent dialog with the citizens "more clearly and openly," analyze recommendations, suggestions and criticism from the population "more carefully," and proceed more intolerantly against faults and inadequacies and law violations. The socialist national consciousness would also solidify through the experiences the citizens gained "in dealing with state organs." For that reason one should not underrate the manner in which the associates of the state organs deal with the citizens and the fashion in which public concerns were respected, processed and decided. Needed was "an atmosphere of solidarity with the people, of exactness and clear state order in the central government offices as well as in the city halls and community offices." (EINHEIT 9-10/79).

Stoph: Civic Responsibility

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34 No 9/10, Sep-Oct 79 signed to press
9 Aug 79 pp 908-914

[Article by Willi Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; member, SED Central Committee Politburo: "State and State Awareness in the 30th Year of Our Republic"]

[Text] Thanks to the prudent and well-targeted leadership by the SED, the state organs' resolve and fighting strength, and the deep trust by the people's masses in their state, the GDR emerged stronger from the historic class struggles of the last 30 years. The indestructible economic, political and ideological foundations on which our state is based have to be further strengthened by perfecting our state management activity. It remains the party's primary concern constantly to affect the developmental processes by its political work and to use ever more effectively socialist state consciousness as an impulse for the all-round strengthening of our state.

The GDR people has in the last 30 years created for itself a stable state which successfully fulfills its functions as the main instrument for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Having emerged from the penetrating changes in the international balance of power, resulting from the Soviet Union's world historic triumph over Hitler fascism, and from the revolutionary struggle of the workers class and its allies, strengthened and solidified in the class struggle and in the process of creative socialist construction, the power of the first worker and peasant state on German soil is at present directed at continuing the socialist revolution and securely protecting its achievements. The SED Program directs the socialist state in its purposes. Its work serves the benefit and happiness of the people.

The great successes achieved in the outcome of the diligent and creative work of the working people in all areas are the historic proof that also in our country the workers and farmers, freed from capitalist exploitation and suppression, are triumphantly advancing toward establishing and further developing that society which solely is in the position to guarantee social security and safety, true freedom, democracy and human rights.

The 30 years in the GDR state power's indefatigable activity have confirmed the realization that the workers class in alliance with the farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people can create and shape the socialist social order only by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Also for

the future development, it remains of first-rate importance to us to strengthen our socialist state power. "Power," as Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized, "comes first and foremost. Without power, the workers class with its allies could not have converted the decisive means of production into public property and could not have created the foundations of socialism. Also in order to be able to fulfill the main task for the benefit of all the people, it needs assured power."¹

Since our liberation from Hitler fascism and from the first day of the worker and peasant state, the GDR has been able to rely on the selfless, unselfish aid from our Soviet class comrades, which goes back to long and proven traditions in the common struggle of the workers class in our countries and to the close collaboration between the KPD and the CPSU. It has ranged from the aid given to the first steps toward creating an antifascist-democratic order and to the construction of democratic administrative organs, to re-starting our economy and the democratic renewal of our intellectual-cultural life, all the way to the internationalist assistance in turning back the counterrevolutionary attacks by our class enemy. In solidarity there also stood by our side the other fraternal socialist states and the fraternal parties and progressive forces in many countries.

The enemies of the people left nothing untried for suffocating the first German worker and peasant state right in its cradle. Not only did they deny it had any capacity for survival, they also despised its sovereignty. By subversive methods, lies and slander they sought to undermine the foundations of our state power and destroy the unity between people, party and state. Today we can state with satisfaction: Thanks to the prudent and rigorous leadership by the SED, the state organs' resolve and fighting strength, and the deep trust by the people's masses in their state, the worker and peasant power emerged stronger from the historic class struggles of the last 30 years. It proved itself a reliable instrument for protecting our revolutionary achievements, creating, in implementation of the creative mission of the workers class, the foundations of socialism, and eventually proceeding toward the shaping of the developed socialist society.

Strengthening Economic Efficiency

The socialist state in the GDR is based on stable economic, political and ideological-intellectual foundations. Its economic basis is the public property and the other forms of socialist ownership in the means of production. Economic development takes place on the basis of scientific knowledge and the deliberate utilization of the objective economic inevitabilities of socialism, allowing for our concrete domestic and external conditions. Our socialist planned economy is being perfected step by step. The GDR economy is firmly tied to the economies in the other fraternal countries through our socialist economic integration, the advantages of which are increasingly being used for the economic development of each CEMA member country.

Thanks to the great efforts by the workers and cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people in the GDR, our country holds a firm place as an industrial state in the world. Now we must further extend the economic positions gained because also in the future all domestic and foreign policy progress and an ever improving manner of satisfying the people's material and cultural needs are matters that decisively depend on our republic's ever stronger economic performance. Therein lies the central question of our work, as was emphasized at the 10th Central Committee session.

That calls for still more consistently aiming the management and planning in our state and our economy at improving our efficiency. The priority goes in this to strengthening our material-technical base, especially our industrial potential. Profound and far-reaching consequences result from that for all our management areas. That includes, for instance, that our investment activity, the concentration of our means of accumulation, be more strongly still aimed at improving our economic efficiency with the purpose of systematically developing our production on the basis of the most recent science data. Everywhere the schedules set down in the plans must be strictly observed and the economic results anticipated must be obtained.

Strengthening our efficiency is a political task of the first rank that must always form the focal point of the state organs, combines and enterprises. It requires turning the overall state interests written into the economic plan into the basis of all our management activity and assuring the proportions needed for dynamic development, whereby to guarantee the preconditions for the further implementation of the unity between our economic and social policy. The struggle for better results in material production and for the most efficient use of the material and financial funds available in all areas of public life provides the yardstick for our management activity.

Our socialist state, which has a government that was called a government of work by our first president, Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, brings its creative role to realization in systematically developing the productive forces, while using all the advantages of the socialist society, in order constantly to augment the socialist nation's wealth and use it for the benefit of the people.

The Party's Capacity in Forming the State

The GDR's political foundations are formed by the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party and the firm alliance of the workers class with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people. By using the universal inevitabilities in social development and by analyzing the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, the SED worked out its strategy for shaping the socialist social order. In it, the socialist state has a sound scientific orientation, written into the GDR Constitution. As a Marxist-Leninist party, the SED has its roots in the working people. In close cooperation with the friendly parties and democratic mass organizations united in the National Front, it performs a gigantic task in creating our state.

The party members in the people's representations and in the organs of the socialist state apparatus contribute to the development of state management activity on the basis of democratic centralism with a great deal of dedication. They are heading the struggle for constantly perfecting the work of the state, for improving its efficiency and for further developing socialist democracy. In an exemplary fashion they are struggling for the solution in the tasks for socialist intensification, especially for rapidly enforcing scientific-technical progress.

The SED's capacity of shaping our state is seen primarily in that, under its leadership, the leading role of the workers class, as the ruling class, is getting stronger in every way and its views, ideals and modes of conduct pervade all domains of public life. As the leading political class the workers class decisively molds the political consciousness in the GDR. It produces most of our national wealth. From its ranks, as the result of the party's political-ideological work, hundreds of thousands of outstanding class-conscious personalities evolve who have extensive political and organizational abilities, excel through their exemplary human qualities and prudently and responsibly solve their tasks as the elected people's representatives, associates of the state apparatus, organizers of production, members of the armed organs and in other responsible functions.

An important development has taken place in the workers class within the last 30 years which reflects the class character of the socialist state and has much to do with its having grown strong. Selflessly, and often under great personal sacrifices, the workers class developed an efficient state-owned industry. In a comradely manner, it supported the working farmers in converting to cooperative operations. With great energy, class-conscious workers were involved in creating an army and other armed security and protection organs that a loyally dedicated to the noble cause of socialist internationalism. And so the awareness of the workers class, of being both the producing class and the class that exercises power, has been solidified all-around in the course of its 30-year development. With it, its technical skills also have reached a high stage. A significant expression of the leading role of the workers class in our society can be seen in the activities of the trade unions and their close cooperation with the state organs.

A Proven Alliance Policy

Among the political principles of the worker and peasant power is the firm alliance between the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers. Both basic classes of society are tied to each other through close and permanent relations of comradely and creative cooperation. Their alliance grows closer all the time through the gradual transition to industrialized production methods in agriculture and through the industrial-agricultural cooperation in insuring industrial supplies and providing the population with agricultural products.

The workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers are ever more fruitfully working together with the intelligentsia and the other working strata. The socialist intelligentsia, having itself, in its vast majority, come out of the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers, has high achievements to show for in the economy, science and technology, the educational system, public health and in culture and art. Craftsmen and tradesmen, assured a secure livelihood by the socialist state, responsibly are investing their abilities in making the socialist work of construction flourish.

In a proven fashion, all the people's forces in the National Front are concentrating their efforts at jointly strengthening the worker and peasant power constantly. The leadership role of the workers class and its party, and the political relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid among the friendly classes and strata of our people are given a visible embodiment in the elected people's representations. Here all the political forces of our people are working together in forms organized by the state. And that particularly also clearly reveals the essence of socialist democracy.

Socialist internationalism is among the political foundations of the worker and peasant power. It pervades all our state policy. The indestructible relations with the Soviet Union and the firm place the GDR occupies within the socialist community of states have been prerequisite to our development thus far as well as to our assured future. These international alliance relations, vested in our Constitution, give inevitable expression to the change in the balance of power in favor of socialism and affect the decisive vital questions of our people. Only through common action with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries could and can world peace be reliably secured. The protection of our socialist fatherland, at the interstice between socialism and imperialism, is assured through the fraternal military coalition of the Warsaw Pact states.

The firm ideological foundation of the worker and peasant power lies in the world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism which combines the scientific understanding of the inevitabilities in social development with the practical experiences in the struggle of the workers class. That includes the knowledge the workers class has of its power and its ability to exercise this power on its own behalf and on behalf of its allies for the benefit of the people. The thinking and conduct of millions of people, borne by responsibility to the state, and reflecting the growing political-moral unity of the GDR people, is one of the most important results of socialist construction. It demonstrates that in the socialist revolution, through the creation of the worker and peasant power, the contradiction between working masses and state typical of the political conditions in all exploiter states has forever been eliminated and political alienation has thereby been abolished, it being characteristic, as Karl Marx has shown, of exploiter society.

By creating the socialist state, which irrefutably implants the achievements of the antifascist-democratic transformation and continues the socialist

revolution, the GDR people, led by the workers class and its party, exercised its right to socioeconomic, state and national self-determination. The people's sovereignty is the principle on which both the construction and the exercise of state power are based. It is guaranteed by the resolute application of democratic centralism. The citizen's identification with his socialist state, its constitution, and its domestic and foreign policy objectives, which is expressed through his state consciousness, hinges on that this state itself embodies the people's power, implements its sovereignty internally and externally, and protects the people's interests.

The freedoms and social rights vested in the GDR Constitution, assuring each citizen of partnership in the shaping and execution of social management, and of safe development for each individual--be he man or woman, and irrespective of origin and world-outlook--are based on the exercise of the people's self-determination right. By resolutely implementing its overall social interests, the socialist state creates the conditions for the all-round development of man, the development of his personal abilities, the shaping of a meaningful intellectual-cultural life, and the social security of the members of socialist society. Therein are found the most important prerequisites for the prosperity of the citizens and their families, a happy future for youth, and a secure old age for the veterans. This truly humanistic socialist state undertaking is anchored deeply in the awareness of millions of people. That explains the great personal dedication with which they are strengthening the worker and peasant power and are making their contribution to the implementation of state policy.

Socialist State Awareness--Impulse for Creative Work

The conscious affirmation of the socialist state and the civic responsibility every individual assumes for fulfilling the duties dictated by social requirements today motivate millions of people in town and country and characterize the advanced stage of socialist democracy. Most impressively this is brought home by socialist competition, marked by responsibility for the whole and aimed at further improving the GDR's economic efficiency. It reflects the immediate connection between the work of the collectives, the performance of the individual, and the further development of the socialist state. With it, socialist state awareness acts as an important impulse for creative work, aimed in particular at solving the tasks of intensification, improving the effectiveness and quality of production, and using material and energy most economically. Socialist state awareness is reflected by the achievements of the inventors, innovators and rationalizers. As life has shown, it develops and solidifies in the joint work done by the collectives, in the struggle for fulfilling and exceeding the plan tasks, and in the process of constant mutual education. State-aware conduct and actions are embodied in high work morale and labor discipline and in preserving safety and order in all domains.

From the very beginning, the development of worker and peasant power in the GDR proceeded in direct confrontation with imperialism in the FRG. For that

reason socialist state awareness had to, and has to, stand up through constant conflict with bourgeois ideology under wide open conditions. It expresses itself in an attitude that resolutely turns back all attacks the class enemy makes on the worker and peasant power and all his lies and slander. The self-assured attitude taken by the vast majority of the GDR citizens, expressing their pride in the successes achieved and their deep satisfaction with their social safety and secure perspectives, offered to them by our state, testifies to their close ties with socialist society. Through such state-aware attitude they also help refute still existing prejudices in visitors from capitalist states and combat anticommunist agitation.

A high degree of awareness of the socialist state is manifested in the dedication to protecting our fatherland's borders and territory from any military imperialist attacks and in loyally fulfilling their military service as an honorable duty to the worker and peasant power and the GDR people. Part of state-aware thinking and conduct also is their resolute assistance in making the principles of socialist democracy and legality prevail in all situations. Socialist state awareness is expressed in a responsible attitude the citizens take toward their rights and duties. For that reason law education and law propaganda are directed at making the deliberate observance of the laws of the worker and peasant power a matter of habit for all citizens.

Promoting Thinking and Conduct in Awareness of the State

As Lenin showed in his work, "What Is To Be Done?" socialist ideology does not arise out of itself but must be brought into the workers class through constant indoctrination. Being an element of this ideology, socialist state awareness also did not come by itself, did not develop automatically. It was formed in the process of the SED's great political-educational work aimed at developing the political consciousness of the workers class and the other working people and grew strong through practical struggle in the revolutionary transformation of political, economic and intellectual-cultural life.

All-round promoting state-aware thinking and conduct will now and in the future be one of the most important tasks of all party organs, the state and the social organizations. Of great importance for it is a high-grade state management activity. The more effective is in it the unity of politics, economics and ideology, the more intensively it will help strengthen the state awareness of the members of socialist society. This calls for extending farther our broad, differentiated and target-directed political-ideological work and making use of all the experiences we have already gathered to this point.

Wherever state functionaries thoroughly explain the political, economic and social interconnections to the citizens and the working people are made intimately familiar with the targets and tasks in the decisions of the party and state management, and the implementation of these tasks is discussed with them directly, their willingness for active and energetic involvement exists as a matter of course. The more clearly and frankly the heads and

co-workers in state organs and the deputies engage in continuous dialog with the citizens, the more carefully they analyze the population's suggestions, recommendations and criticism, and the more intolerantly we proceed against deficiencies and inadequacies and law violations, the more solid the citizens' trust in their state becomes, and the higher will rise the authority of its organs. This is expressed in increased cooperation between the population and the state organs.

Socialist state awareness is reinforced through more developed political knowledge and the growing comprehension of the essence and objectives of state policy as well as through the experiences the citizens gather through their democratic participation and through dealing with the state organs. Socialist democracy is the best and most effective school for forming thoughts and actions that are responsible to the state through the practical involvement in solving state tasks.

The more we succeed in involving our citizens in the preparation and implementation of state decisions and in promoting their democratic activities, the more the state organs help improve the sense of responsibility for the whole. Essential for this is that the social benefit of the social commitment crystallizes in real results and the individual can convince himself of the value of his participation. We mainly must still more systematically orient our democratic activities to the implementation of our plan task and thereby make always still more effective the great economic potentials in socialist democracy to improving economic efficiency.

With respect to a conscious attitude toward the socialist state, we should not underrate the manner in which the state organ officials deal with the citizens and the fashion in which public concerns are respected, processed and decided. That calls for an atmosphere of solidarity with the people, of exactness and clear state order in the central government offices as well as in the city halls and community offices. This also forms the surest barrier against manifestations of bureaucratism and of routinized working procedures.

Socialist state awareness is inseparably connected with the Constitution. Being the basic law of state and society, it forms each citizens' ideological-political charter, as it were. The Constitution combines the rights and duties. Constitutional thinking and conduct thus lies in having everyone respect that unity in his daily life. That applies to all citizens, regardless of religion and world-outlook. Socialist democracy contains all the conditions for it. The development of socialist society always proves anew that this unity of rights and duties in the conduct of the citizens is becoming ever more effective for the benefit of all and for the good of each individual.

In the 30th year of its existence, the CDR is an internationally respected, economically efficient and culturally advanced state borne by the confidence of the overwhelming majority of its population. Not only has socialism basically renewed and improved the life of the people, it also has changed

their position in society and turned their interests and needs into the criterion for creative, civic actions. With the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, therefore, awareness and social activity are becoming more and more important. It thus remains a principal concern of the Marxist-Leninist party to bring its influence to bear constantly, through its political activity, on the ideological developmental processes and to use socialist state awareness ever more effectively as an impulse for the continued all-round strengthening of our worker and peasant state.

FOOTNOTE

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 110.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FOREIGN POLICY REVIEWED: FOCUS ON DETENTE, DISARMAMENT

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[Article by Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member, GDR minister for foreign affairs: "Struggling for Peace and Detente"]

[Text] The GDR is taking its responsibility and promise seriously to do everything possible so that never again a war will emanate from German soil. That peace policy conforms to the nature of the socialist German state which has proven itself for Europe as a factor of peace and of the turning from Cold War to detente. The struggle for detente in the political and military field remains a main trend in the foreign policy efforts of the GDR. By rigorously engaging ourselves, on the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, in making peace permanent, we are pursuing a profoundly revolutionary ideal.

Three decades of GDR has meant 30 years of work for one goal: doing everything for the benefit and happiness of the people and on behalf of the working class and all working people. For the people is what socialism is all about.

From this arises the foreign policy task of securing the most favorable international relations for socialist and communist construction. "Peace," as Comrade Erich Honecker said at the ninth party congress, "is a basic condition for the continued successful construction of socialist and communist society. Its preservation is as important for all mankind as is our daily bread."

The founding of the GDR was an historic event, a turning point in the history not only of Germany, but of Europe. A part of Germany with all its potentials was wrested from imperialism. The history of German imperialism was the history of aggressions, of a constant thrust toward the east, of suppression of foreign nations as one's own. Times of peace, for the German monopoly bourgeoisie, were merely times for getting ready for new wars.

On the territory of today's GDR, the workers class and all other working people allied with it put a stop forever to that ominous rule of German monopoly capital and militarism. The legitimate heir to everything progressive in the history of the German people, they picked up its best traditions and opened a new chapter in German history, the road to peace, understanding between nations, and social progress. For the first time, through the revolutionary change in class relations, the objective necessity was made to prevail of ending that ominous tradition in the policy of Germany's ruling classes of which even Marx had said that it suppressed "with the assistance of German money and blood" any national and democratic movement in their own country and in other countries, so that the German name became "hated, cursed and despised abroad."² Today, the appeal for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR rightly states: "Of our state it is known all over the world that militarism and revanchism were eradicated there forever."³

The objective potentials arising for the construction of a peaceful, democratic Germany after the Soviet Army's destruction of Hitler fascism were turned, in the outcome of our party's policy, into socialist reality. When the working people led by the workers class and its party eliminated the social relations that were the breeding ground for war and aggressiveness, incapacitated the classes and political forces that had profited from war and the suppression of the workers class, and the working class seized political and economic power, the guarantee for a peace policy arose. Because there is a unity between socialism, democracy and peace. Peace and social progress belong together; they complement each other.

Socialism creates peace because it needs it. It also is the only social force that can eventually enforce it. Yet even so, peace is neither merely the result of socialist power nor just a means to the end of social progress. Peace today has become a matter of survival for all mankind. The right to life is the foremost of all basic human rights. That provides the possibility for a broad peace alliance. In today's world situation one may more than ever count on "the love for peace not only by the workers and peasants but also by a large segment of the sensible representatives of the bourgeoisie and the governments."⁴

In line with that dialectic, the GDR acts according to this guideline: to secure our peace means strengthening socialism, and vice versa. Thus the SED assigns the first spot among its foreign policy objectives in its program to the task "to consolidate the unity, cohesiveness and all-round cooperation of the socialist states and promote their friendship and continuing rapprochement."⁵ It became a crucial aspect of its sovereignty for the GDR to be irrevocably anchored within the socialist community. From there, the GDR derives its political, economic and military strength for its socialist construction.

The 30-year history of the GDR foreign policy deeply testifies to its revolutionary character:

First of all, our party conducted and conducts the peace struggle always as an essential aspect of the revolutionary process, of the revolutionary transformation in the GDR as well as of the support given to the revolutionary world process. It thus acts in line with the Marxist realization that the struggle for a new "foreign policy" is included in the "general struggle for the emancipation of the workers class."⁶

Secondly, the party always designed the policy for the new democratic state with the understanding that conclusions had to be drawn from the imperialist German past. It meant making a break with the imperialist past in socio-economic and political respects as much as in people's ideas. It meant fulfilling, without reservations, the obligations resulting from the accords in the anti-Hitler coalition, mainly the Potsdam Agreement. Democratization and denazification, incapacitating the monopolies and the large landed estate owners became thus the condition and guideline for the peace policy internally and externally.

Third, our party policy always meant acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The alliance with the main peace power, the Soviet Union, became a mainstay for our domestic and foreign policy activities and a primary party task in educating the people's masses.

Fourth, our party policy has always been oriented to social progress. It meant at all times coming to grips with imperialism and its ideology and providing solidary support for all anti-imperialist forces.

The GDR—A Factor of Peace in Europe

As the founding of the first peaceful German state in 1949 was a turning point in the history of Europe, we are wholly justified in saying today, 30 years later: The GDR's foreign policy has had a share in the turn from Cold War to international detente. The existence of the socialist German state has proven to be a factor of peace in Europe. On the one side, the emergence of the GDR reflects how the international balance of power has changed for the benefit of socialism. On the other, the GDR may point out with pride that it has energetically, from the first day of its existence, worked for this change in international power relations alongside the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states. This peace policy conforms to the essence of the socialist German state. It could extensively penetrate however not until real socialism succeeded in breaking through the imperialist diplomatic blockade of the GDR.

Our republic gained its successes in constant conflict with imperialism which, in the form of FRG imperialism, opposed it with special aggressiveness and revanchist designs. "Neither in the past three decades nor in the present," the appeal for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR says, "has a single day passed without imperialist reactionaries, anticommunists and revanchists of the most varied shades doing their utmost to reverse the change and prevent the rise of the German worker and peasant state."⁷

in the struggle for peace and international security Europe has always played a central role. Here lies the main field of conflict between socialism and imperialism, the main center for world political contradictions and decisions. Here, in the military, economic and political respect, the chief potentials of both systems meet head on. As in a magnifying glass, the basic issues of the international class conflict come bundled up here. It makes Europe into a barometer for the climate worldwide. Tensions and conflicts in other regions are reflected in the European situation.

All this implies that the question of war and peace is especially pertinent in Europe. Each success in enforcing peaceful coexistence in European relations, every advance in relaxation in Europe, therefore also is a piece of stable peace at the world scale. This strengthens the socialist world system, assists the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national independence, and gives advantages to working class struggle in the capitalist states. The history of the GDR itself demonstrates how with the strength of socialism the chances for active solidarity grow. And that precisely also confirms the basic Marxist thesis of the unity of the revolutionary world process and of the universal validity of the laws in the international class struggle, as underscored anew in the documents of conferences of the communist and workers parties in Moscow in 1969 and in Berlin in 1976.

European security means, to the socialist states, in view of the experiences of two world wars, first and foremost, the security of the European borders, the security of the territorial status quo. Building on that alone makes possible a peaceful, mutually advantageous and equal cooperation among the states with differing social orders. Creating an atmosphere of peaceful cooperation while gradually eliminating the military resources for more wars--those were and are the points of orientation punctuating all activities of the socialist community of states like a red thread.

Regarding from this angle of vision the Europe policy of the socialist states, one will find one solitary political line. It ranges from the Leninist peace decree and the Soviet initiatives at the 1922 Genoa Conference and in the League of Nations via the Potsdam Agreement, the proposals for a European security system of 1954-1955 and the all-European set of treaties in the early 1970's all the way to CSCE in 1975 with its Final Act. The treaties between the USSR, Poland, the CSSR and the GDR with the FRG, the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, that is the set of European treaties, and finally CSCE became the main stations for the transformation of Europe's interstate relations. They mark the turning point from Cold War to the gradual enforcement of detente as the basic trend in international relations.

Comrade Erich Honecker outlined the historic importance of this development when he said at the signing of the Helsinki Final Act: "The forum of states assembled in Helsinki has confirmed the turn from Cold War to detente in Europe. Through the documents of this conference agreement has been reached for the first time on our continent, in accordance with international law, on a code of application, as it were, for the principles of peaceful coexistence

among states with differing social orders, as endorsed by all participating states. Now the essential problems are solved that have burdened interstate relations in the postwar period."⁸

Although the GDR has been in existence already for 30 years, certain circles in the FRG cannot and will not reconcile themselves to the existence of a socialist German state. The designs to strangle the GDR politically, economically and through international isolation did meet with failure, to be sure. The sole representation pretension with the so-called Hallstein Doctrine had to be abandoned. Yet the "all-German illusions," the revanchist intentions, have remained. They keep trying to deny that there is a GDR citizenship, and they seek somehow to place in doubt the border with the GDR, which to respect they had committed themselves in terms of international law. The GDR knows how to deal with any designs in violation of international law and hostile to detente. In the interest of peace it always was and is in favor of advancing farther toward the normalization of GDR-FRG relations in conformity with the Helsinki Final Act. All would benefit from that policy.

New fields for action and possibilities opened up for the policy of the SED in its struggle for international detente alongside the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states. With them, the responsibility grew which the GDR properly assumes in the conflict with imperialism and the struggle for peace in Europe. Located on the border between socialism and imperialism in the heart of Europe, directly adjacent to the FRG, at present the second strongest state in the imperialist system, GDR policy had and has to prove itself every day. This is a task it meets reliably, as 30 years of its existence have proven. Today the GDR's role as a factor of peace in Europe is being recognized, and not only by the fraternal socialist states.

This development, reflecting qualitative changes in the international power balance, proceeded simultaneously on many levels, bilaterally and multilaterally, and in the political and economic, the cultural and scientific-technical fields. It is wholly in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence that the results in this development could be cast in binding legal forms, that is, formulated in bilateral and multilateral international treaties.

By writing the territorial and political realities as they had arisen in the outcome of World War II into international law, the gradual enforcing of international detente became possible. European postwar settlements, postponed for almost three decades by the Western states, now were concluded. The distrust that had formed among the states in Europe during the long years of Cold War now diminished. To that extent, this does indeed amount to some normalization of relations between socialist and capitalist states.

The initiative for the peaceful transformation of Europe came from the socialist states. They were urging the solution of basic problems in international and regional security. They proposed the action programs for a Europe of peaceful coexistence. And this reflects the growing strength of socialism and the increasing influence the coordinated socialist peace policy has on international affairs.

The GDR, on the basis of the decisions made by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congress, has taken an active part in all these initiatives of the socialist community of states. Alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states it assisted, and assists, with great energy in implementing the CPSU peace program. The GDR has had as much of a share in producing the set of European treaties as in the success of CSCE. In Vienna, the GDR directly participated in negotiating the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. On various negotiation and consultation levels concerned with the basic problem of our time, the question of war or peace, it participates as a partner. And it could not be otherwise because "we also have to take into account that the GDR is located at the interstice of the two big social systems, within the field of tension of war or peace. All the greater is the responsibility we receive from that for strengthening socialism and contributing to the prosperity of the entire community of socialist states and to the safeguarding of peace."⁹

Greater Responsibility for Safeguarding Peace

The road to peaceful coexistence goes via detente. The changes in the world, caused inevitably by what socialism is doing, meet with harsh resistance from imperialism. Reluctantly, only compelled by developments, it is accommodating to the new power situation. Time and time again it seeks to remeasure the field of strength. Sudden changes are therefore not to be dismissed. Not only in the field of armaments production are the enemies of detente intensifying their efforts. The ideological war against socialism is being conducted with great vehemence, no holds are barred in their anti-communism. There is a visible intensification of the conflict between socialism and imperialism in the political-ideological field.¹⁰ Over and over again are essential results obtained in consequence of the detente process placed in doubt.

A paradoxical world situation arises from that. On the one side, peace is more secure than years ago. Detente was preserved as the basic trend in international relations. The forces committed to the peace struggle have a greater influence now. The realization that there is no reasonable alternative for peaceful coexistence in the nuclear weapons age is gaining more ground also in capitalist states. On the other side, the equilibrium on which peace and international security are currently based is unstable. The arms race, kindled by imperialism with the constant charge of a "threat from the east," widens the gap between political and military detente. Unless we succeed in closing this gap and reducing the arms race, limiting armaments and, eventually, disarming, detente is in jeopardy of once again turning into Cold War and confrontation. For in the long run arms race and peaceful coexistence are incompatible. In other words: The international situation is unstable. Still greater efforts therefore are required to secure the peace and turn back the aggressive circles' dangerous machinations. The governments of all states bear the responsibility for that.

The course of international development in Europe as in other regions of the world confirms that nothing has changed in the nature of imperialism, in its aggressiveness. The drive for expansion and war grows out of capitalist production and class relations. That is no different today, under the conditions of international detente, from what it was when Marx and Lenin revealed these inevitabilities. Yet unavoidable another world war is not. Today, only at the risk of its own doom can imperialism dare a frontal attack against socialism. The result of that is that imperialism is more and more shifting its military adventures from the direct frontline of imperialism versus socialism to other areas and increasingly seeks to achieve its goals by infiltration and subversion of socialism.

What has changed then is not imperialism but its chances for survival and success. Its action radius is getting confined to the extent that the influence of socialism and the other progressive forces grows in world affairs and the revolutionary world movement advances. Here then lies the chance for preventing imperialist wars and military confrontation. That is the only way for containing the efforts and inevitabilities of capital. At the same time, this gives rise to the need to strengthen socialism as the main peace force and to make it unassailable. The GDR is facing this demanding task in constructing the developed socialist society in its own country and in its struggle for peace and social progress at the world scale.

SALT II and Disarmament

Disarmament remains the key issue of our time. It is the sure way for banning the peril of nuclear war. In this context, vital in the truest sense of the word are the SALT II accords signed between the Soviet Union and the United States in Vienna. "The GDR people assesses the accords made as real progress toward supplementing and promoting political detente by acts in arms limitation and disarmament."¹¹

SALT II proves that it is possible under the conditions of peaceful coexistence to solve complicated international problems peacefully, by negotiations. It also shows that agreements between states with differing social orders can come about only if the participating sides proceed from the principle of complete equality, equal security and nonintervention, let good faith, realism and reason reign and pay due respect to the partner's legitimate interests. These are premises that apply not only to treaties in the field of disarmament and arms limitation. But there they are virtually indispensable. The SALT II agreements have brought to realization an important part of the peace program. Provided U.S. ratification, SALT II can stimulate further negotiations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. That is the precept of our age.

A strategy of "arming in order to be able to disarm"¹² which is the NATO guideline is not what the peoples need. That thesis hides a policy but the all too well known "policy of strength" with which the socialist states are meant to be blackmailed. During the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of

armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, the socialist states, right after the signing of SALT II, once again registered their intentions finally to get to concrete results. They proposed, as the first reduction stage, to seek an agreement in which all states directly involved would obligate themselves to reduce their ground forces to an equivalent collective level. NATO as well as the Warsaw Pact should, each within the framework of their alliance systems, reduce their ground forces within the reduction area to 700,000 men. Based on the official figures of both sides as of 1 January 1976, it would mean a reduction by 105,000 men for the socialist states, and by 91,000 men for the NATO states. Each directly involved state should make an adequate contribution to that which would have to be set down within the framework of its alliance. Furthermore the socialist states suggest that in this first stage the USSR and the United States start with the reduction of their armed forces in Central Europe. Both should make a great part of their contribution to troop reduction already in this early phase. Prior to signing this agreement on first phase reduction, all participating states should announce concretely how large their total troop reduction figure will be. Up to the end in this reduction process for achieving the collective troop reduction level desired, none of the reduction contributions may be changed. We can see no good reason why such proposals should not lead to agreement. The will has to be there, of course, to genuinely reduce troops and armaments.

For the GDR, SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Comrade Erich Honecker announced at the ninth SED Central Committee session its unreserved readiness "even for the most radical disarmament measures if throughout all phases the equivalent security principle is observed."¹³

Constructive Program for the Consolidation of Peace

In their November 1978 Moscow Declaration, the Warsaw Pact member states presented a long-term program for peace and security in Europe. Thereby they have given a realistic answer to the vital questions of our time. They are pointing the way to making peace more secure.

The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states discussed practical suggestions for how to proceed further at their recent Budapest conference.¹⁴ Once again the socialist states focused their efforts on the proposal to conclude a treaty in which the states that took part in CSCE would commit themselves to not attacking each other. That would include nuclear arms as well as the use of conventional weapons. That kind of a treaty would reinforce the Helsinki code of conduct by concrete political and legal guarantees. It would create more trust among the states and thus expand the basis for peaceful cooperation. A second proposal from the foreign ministers conference pertains to measures that would promote confidence. Above and beyond the stipulations of the Final Act, practical steps were suggested for announcing beforehand important military movements and large maneuvers as well as extending the confidence-promoting measures set down in the Final Act to the region of the Mediterranean. And finally the

socialist states proposed holding a conference on the political level that would deal with the problems of military detente. It should be attended by the states that had signed the Helsinki Final Act. The object of such a conference could be to reach practical results in this important field without losing any time. It would not affect the work of the existing negotiation teams which are charged with special tasks and mandates anyhow.

The socialist states also have a clear idea, a constructive program for the meeting of the states that attended CSCE, which will be held in Madrid next year. This is mainly concerned with carrying on the measures for implementing the Final Act which has stood up well as a long-term program for peaceful coexistence in European state relations.

Thought has to be given to how the implementation of this important document in its entirety can be accelerated in the spirit of peace and detente. The GDR, alongside the fraternal socialist states, has actively participated in working out the Final Act of Helsinki. Its international respect has also grown because of this constructive participation. With the same initiative and consistency, it will continue to structure its bilateral relations with the capitalist states in such a way that they conform to the principles and provisions of the Final Act and thereby foster the advance of detente in Europe. This approach conforms with the principles of its foreign policy efforts as set down in the SED Program and the party decisions. It is in line with the mission in the GDR Constitution which commits the government and each citizen to actions that conform with the universally recognized rules of international law which serve the peace and the peaceful collaboration of the nations.¹⁵

The GDR is taking seriously its responsibility and promise, given when it was founded and repeated many times, to do everything possible so that never again a war will emanate from German soil. The struggle for detente in the political and military field remains a main thrust of its foreign policy activity. By energetically involving ourselves in "preserving peace for the long haul, we are pursuing a profoundly revolutionary idea. Men can renew their existence and live in freedom only if the scourge of war is taken from them."¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 15.
2. Friedrich Engels, "Foreign Policy," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 155
3. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 2.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Politburo Concerning a Resolution of the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress on the International Situation," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 122.
5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 59.
6. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the International Workers Association," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 13.
7. "Appeal . . .," op. cit., p 1.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 31 July 1975, p 1.
9. "Mit Optimismus einem Jahr neuer Kaempfe und Siege entgegen. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker auf der 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" (With Optimism into a Year of New Struggles and Victories--From the Concluding Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker at the Ninth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, pp 174-175.
10. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Only Socialism Can Solve the Problems of Humanity," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 July 1979, p 3.
11. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 June 1979, p 1.
12. "Interview with NATO General Secretary Joseph Luns," DIE WELTWOCHE, Zurich, 20 June 1979.
13. "Mit Optimismus . . .," loc. cit., p 177.
14. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 May 1979, p 6; Oskar Fischer, "Burning Questions of Our Time," HORIZONT, No 24, 1979, p 3.
15. Cf. "Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1974, Article 8 Section 1.
16. Erich Honecker, "Marxism-Leninism Is the Banner of Victory," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6/7 May 1978, p 3.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NATION VERSUS NATIONALITY CONCEPT ANALYZED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34 No 9/10, Sep-Oct 79 signed to press
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[Article by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, department of German workers movement history, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC: "Birth and Growth of the Socialist German Nation." A translation of a detailed discussion of a book by Kosing on the development of the nation concept is published in JPRS 69068, 10 May 77, No. 1387 of this series, pp 50-54. Other translated articles on the same and related subjects are available in the following JPRS issues of this series: by Alfred Kosing, 64634, 28 April 1975, No. 1071, pp 11-39 and 64368, 20 March 1975, No. 1048, pp 43-52; by Walter Schmidt, 72782, 7 February 1979, No. 1644 pp 15-24 (in collaboration with Schmidt's deputy, Dr Helmut Meier); 70640, 15 February 1978, No. 1503, pp 22-26 (interview); and 64368, 20 March 1975, No. 1048, pp 53-67. For discussions of the SED's role in the development of a national consciousness and of the socialist homeland/fatherland concepts, see JPRS 72782, 7 February 1979, No. 1644 of this series, pp 5-14 and 25-34 respectively.]

[Text] This is what is being shown by confronting the theses of the "continued existence of a unified German nation" and of a "unified German citizenship": On the national question in Germany, history has spoken. With the revolutionary transformation of public life, the socialist German nation began to form in the GDR; the historic premises and the economic, political, social and ideological principles and factors in this process; basic lines in the formation of the essential features of the socialist German nation. The concepts of nation, nationality and citizenship are dealt with in this context.

Thirty years of GDR signify three decades of a revolutionary transformation of public life in the course of which a new type of nation also was born in German history: the socialist German nation. In the process of the penetrating socialist renewal of our country's public life in its entirety, the

principles, contents and forms of national life changed. Prepared by the antifascist-democratic transformation, the formation of the socialist German nation began with the founding of the GDR, with establishing our worker and peasant power. On that political foundation, most of its economic, social, ideological and intellectual-cultural premises were laid up to the early 1960's. With the shaping of the developed socialist society, the formation of the socialist German nation reaches a new level of development. More and more strongly this new reality of national life finds itself also anchored within the social consciousness. Based on the combination between the new social class content of the nation and the ethnic characteristics of the Germans taken over from all of German history, the socialist national consciousness is gaining clearer profile.

After the Eighth SED Congress had first provided theoretical generalizations about these national developmental processes in our country, an all-inclusive conception on their characteristic features and developmental perspectives is now contained in the section on "the development of the socialist nation" in the SED Program.

Learning the Lessons of History

Our party always has clearly and unmistakably worked out the profound social content of the national issue in Germany. In its struggle for a change in German history, for instance, after World War II, it let itself be guided by the realization that a peaceful future of the German nation and its unity in the current era of transition from capitalism to socialism required a fundamental renewal of the vital foundations of national life. The historic lesson derived from two world wars ignited by German imperialism was that the nation had to be freed from the antinational rule by the imperialist haute bourgeoisie and its leadership had to be won by the workers class--the most consistent national force. Allied with all progressive forces, our party went to extremes in fighting for initiating the historically necessary process of rebirth for all of Germany, assuming its responsibility in the entire arena of national struggle as it had come about in the 19th century, and leading the whole nation toward socialism, whereby to assure its unity.

Afraid it would lose its power positions also in the western zones, the German monopoly bourgeoisie, in league with the imperialist occupation powers, and abetted by the rightist forces in the SPD, prevented the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement for all of Germany. This thwarted the formation of a unified antifascist-democratic German republic. "To protect its egoistical class interests, German monopoly capital did not hesitate for a moment to complete its decades-old betrayal of the national interests. The founding of the FRG in September 1949, the resurgence of the rule of monopoly capital and its aggressive policy as outpost of world imperialism against world socialism made the united national territory to be torn apart and eventually led to the destruction of a united German nation. That is and remains the historic guilt of the German monopoly bourgeoisie."¹

In view of that national betrayal, the founding of the GDR and the establishing of the socialist society was the only feasible response. Principally in the 1960's, when the last chances vanished for initiating a progressive-democratic development in the FRG and, after the triumph of the socialist production relations, socialism in the GDR more and more developed on its own foundations, it became urgently necessary to draw the conclusions from this social development and understand in all clarity the national status of socialist society in our country.

What was special in our situation was that socialism had triumphed only in a part of the former German nation. In the other part, restored imperialism had been consolidated into a strong state monopoly system which had meanwhile become a center of world imperialism and functioned as the European spearhead against the socialist community of states.

Its analysis of social development in the GDR and FRG, based on Marxist-Leninist positions, led the SED to the politically as well as theoretically significant conclusion that under these historic conditions still the general inevitability in the social transformation of a capitalist into a socialist nation on the GDR territory came to have a full effect and that here, in accordance with this objective inevitability, a new type of nation was formed, the socialist German nation, while in the FRG the old bourgeois or capitalist nation on capitalist foundations continues to exist. Out of the united capitalist nation of the past two German nations, of opposed sociohistoric type, had arisen. In that sense history had decided the national question.

Nation - Nationality - Citizenship

Contradicting historic realities, the politicians and ideologues of FRG imperialism, for all too obvious political reasons, continue to indulge in the fiction that in spite of the opposing state and social conditions in the GDR and the FRG there still is a united German nation and thus, an "open German question." They declare that a unified German nation still exists and that the claim to its reunification in a unified state is an irrevocable "legal position." Such is the propaganda coming out of official FRG government announcements and from other government authorities. Only recently it was given especially provocative expression in the guidelines by the FRG Land ministers for public worship and education for dealing with the "German question" in school instruction. This resolution arrogantly proclaims a "duty of national awareness" vis-a-vis the GDR citizens and charges the FRG schools with the task of "waking up among the youth the consciousness of the unity of the German nation."¹ And on what "arguments" is this thesis of the alleged unity of the German nation based? Historical and cultural ties among all Germans--so the claim goes--provide the justification for speaking of the one German nation. "The awareness of a common language, history and culture on both sides is an important all-German bracket. The German nation survives as a linguistic and cultural unity, yet the concept of national culture does not adequately cover its reality. The German nation

also survives as a citizenry [Staatsvolk] not having a state in common whose members nevertheless--regardless of separate arrangements made in the GDR--are in possession of an integrated German citizenship."³

Apart from its provocative presumption, such an argumentation completely disregards the diametrically opposed social development the two German states have taken. Behind it stands an idealistic notion of the concept of nation: The nation is detached from its material ground of existence and content, separated from the form of society with which it is inextricably intertwined, and given a highly stylized, formalized value, class-indifferent and hovering above and beyond socialism and capitalism. There is of course no denying the fact that the Germans, heirs to more than thousand years of history, formed throughout that course of history a common language, special characteristics of culture and of their way of life, and common mores, customs and habits. These ethnic characteristics and features in their totality make up the ethnic character of the Germans, their nationality, which in no way is identical with the nation.

The nation entails, in dialectical unity, economic, political, social and ideological relations which are of a class character and ethnic ties extending across several forms of society, but the social, class-bound factors and components are instrumental in the genesis, course of development and sociohistoric type of a nation. Nationality, in contrast, signifies merely the totality of the ethnic characteristics, features and ties of a population and of the classes, groups and individuals in it.

The German nationality, the complex of ethnic features called "German," has formed in the course of more than thousand years of history and combined with various forms of society and their developmental forms, like the feudal German people, later the capitalist German nation, and at present also the German socialist nation. From the peculiar historic development after World War II, bringing about opposite states and social orders on German soil, follows the historic fact that German nationality on GDR territory combines with socialist society, whereby a socialist German nation is formed, while in the FRG the old combination between capitalist society and German ethnic character survived.

The deliberate confusion of nation with nationality, also practiced in the FRG ministerial guidelines, aims at covering up the essential opposites between socialist and capitalist nation that were created by social circumstances and placing the emphasis on the ethnic characteristic as crucial for the survival of an integrated nation. If the authors of the guidelines had studied their history more diligently, however, they might have seen that German history itself furnishes a striking refutation of the notion of the preeminence of the ethnical character. Because the originally German Swiss, Netherlanders, Alsatians and Lotharingians, and finally also the Austrians, departed in the course of history for various socioeconomic and political causes from their capitalist German nation of origin, either finding their own ways for forming independent nations or joining other nations.

Their common ethnic characteristics and ties always proved too weak to prevent that. The forming of a nation within its territorial borders does not primarily depend on ethnic factors but on economic, political and social factors and on the class struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces. It is mainly the given form and society and its ruling class that determines what a nation is.

It means that capitalism and socialism, being opposing forms of society, also require and produce their own forms of national development. Capitalism in the FRG and socialism in the GDR therefore cannot have a common, class-neutral structural and developmental form of public life, the form of a unified German nation. Common ethnic characteristics from a history in common make no difference there, even if the schools in the FRG are forced to befool the minds of young people with that illusion. "A unity that was both capitalist and socialist could not be--that much they knew on both sides," as SED Central Committee General Secretary Comradly Erich Honecker put it.⁴

In the FRG the old capitalist nation survived. In the GDR, on the other hand, socialism produced its own national form of development, adequate to its needs, the socialist German nation. It differs in its economic, social, political and ideological principles, in its essential contents and features, from the capitalist nation in the FRG and inevitably delimits itself from it while further molding its new socialist quality. In terms of its socio-historic type, the nation in the GDR is socialist, and in its nationality it is German, whereas the nation in the FRG is capitalist in its socio-historic type and in its nationality likewise German. This is the sense in which our party program defines the socialist type as well as the nationality of the nation in the GDR by unequivocally formulating: "In the GDR the socialist German nation develops."⁵ This describes the unmistakable identity of our nation.

While the FRG ministers for public worship leave all historic reality far behind with their thesis of the survival of an integrated German nation, their subsequent remark claiming that nation to be in existence also as a citizenry that had no state in common but had an integrated citizenship becomes merely ridiculous. How a nonexistent state can produce a citizenship, that is a metaphysical-juridical secret guarded by FRG constitutional judges and FRG Land ministers for public worship. There is a kernel of truth in this nonsense, however: the strict denial that the socialist state of the GDR has its own citizenship, and the effrontery of subjecting the GDR citizens to FRG jurisdiction.

The socialist German nation finds its independent political existence in the form of the sovereign socialist national state of the GDR. From this social reality derives the development of an independent GDR citizenry. The attempt to deny to the socialist state of the GDR its own citizenship and to derive an integrated German citizenship from the fiction of a surviving German Reich is diametrically opposed to the universal norms of international law and to political reality as formed in the outcome of the victory by the

nations in the anti-Hitler coalition on the territory of the former German Reich after 1945. Not least, it is meant to give legal backing to aggressive revanchism as preserved in CDU/CSU circles and by now again blossoming forth luxuriantly in the booming activities of old and neo-Nazis.

The attempt at designing from some fiction an allegedly integrated German citizenship and all efforts at giving substance to it by means of an allegedly surviving unified nation, which in substance and in fact is reduced to none but common national characteristics, attest to a dangerous alienation from political reality. No unified German citizenry, and thus no citizenship, can be deduced from either fiction. Most states have citizens with different nationalities. Nor is nationality directly connected with nation. Citizenship is tied exclusively to a state that really exists, one which effectively exercises, as the political form in which a nation, or several nations, exist, jurisdiction over its territory. That not only conforms to valid international law but also to what is practically accepted in all states--excepting the FRG.

Why is it that such theories are constantly reiterated? Why must all young people in school be indoctrinated with them? This propaganda about an integrated nation helps justify a "nationally" embellished "legal claim" to the reintegration of the socialist GDR within the imperialist power sphere. Such designs are counterrevolutionary because they want to cancel social progress, the real socialism that already exists in the GDR. And they are directed against detente because they defy any consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence to the relations between the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG.

Socialist Nation - A Form of Inevitable Development

The scientific clarification and the formulation of a national developmental framework of socialism and of the national status of socialist society in the GDR, as provided by the eighth and ninth party congress, is an important theoretical achievement of great practical political importance. By elaborating the socialist character of the national processes in the GDR, the SED also made a contribution to the international debate seeking to clarify the substance and forms of the processes of national development in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In this, it let itself be guided by the historic experience that the forming of a socialist nation is an inevitable element of the socialist revolution and that, wherever a socialist society was established, the originally capitalist nation is transformed into a socialist nation. And it furthermore proceeded from a realization corroborated by the socialist development in the Soviet Union that a nation making its transition to socialism not only does not lose its social function but rather plays a significant role on the way toward communism as a form of inevitable development of socialist society.

In the GDR too the socialist nation exercises an irreplaceable social function and plays an important role in the developmental process leading to communist

society. It acts as an impulse in this because it fuses all classes and strata of the GDR people, under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, into an increasingly solidifying community, develops its historic potentials and directs it to the common objectives in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. Simultaneously, the socialist nation also provides the foundation and framework for the co-operation developing with the other nations in the socialist community of states and for their becoming more alike. In all this, the socialist nation combines the international features and contents and the general inevitabilities of socialism with the national conditions, specifics and traditions in the GDR.

Through the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, marked by profound political, economic and intellectual-cultural changes, the foundations and contents of the socialist German nation also are further shaped and consolidated. Far more intensively than previously there develops, for the sake of fully shaping the socialist nation, the fundamental process of melding the historically received ethnic characteristics, features and criteria with the major social principles of socialism and the intellectual absorption of the new reality of national life in the socialist national consciousness.

The Further Shaping of Its Essential Features

Which basic lines in the further shaping of the essential features of our socialist nation in the GDR can already be perceived in public life?

What mainly determines the further road of development for the socialist German nation is the historic mission of the workers class to establish the classless communist society. With the growing demands made on the workers class in shaping the developed socialist society there also increases its role as the leading social and political force of the socialist nation. After the class antagonisms of capitalist society were fully surmounted in the course of the socialist revolution and the political-moral unity of the people is emerging on the national scale, the social processes in the shaping of the developed socialist society effect an increasing consolidation of national relations and ties, a consolidation of the socialist nation. The further development and strengthening of the alliance of the workers class with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working strata, their increasing social rapprochement, the gradual reduction of the essential differences between town and country, between industrial and agricultural and between physical and mental work--these are the social processes which foster the unity and stability of the socialist nation and more and more lend it the character of a genuine national community. The economic development of socialist society tends in the same direction. Through creating our efficient material-technical base permitting stable economic growth, high labor productivity and efficiency in social labor, the economic and social ties within the socialist nation develop, intensify and solidify, which further strengthens its economic foundations.

Through the all-round strengthening of the socialist state of the GDR as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat representing the interests of all the people, the socialist German national state becomes further developed. As the political form of the socialist nation it gives expression to its independent political existence and its sovereignty. The main trend in the further development of the socialist state is the unfolding and perfecting of socialist democracy. The citizens' growing participation in the management of public affairs is an essential feature of public life in the socialist nation. As the main instrument of the working people, under working class leadership, for shaping the developed socialist society, the socialist state manages the social processes in the socialist nation and thus, the further development of the nation.

Another characteristic mark of the socialist nation in the GDR is that its development proceeds in firm solidarity with the Soviet people and all other peoples in the socialist community of states. In this our socialist state also organizes the inevitable process of rapprochement of the socialist German nation with the other socialist nations and protects, in collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, the integrity of the territory and the inviolability of the borders of the GDR from aggressive imperialist designs.

In the course of the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the ideological foundations and the intellectual-cultural profile of the socialist German nation are further developed. The spreading of socialist ideology and the deepening of socialist consciousness guarantee a growing rapprochement in the intent and conduct of all classes and strata of the nation with respect to our basic social objectives and, at the same time, a variety and diversity of intellectual needs and activities. In the same direction also goes the further development of our socialist national culture which receives and absorbs all the great accomplishments and achievements and all progressive traditions of German culture but also democratic and socialist elements of world culture, and especially the cultures of other socialist nations.

Great significance for further shaping the ideological foundations and the intellectual profile of the socialist German nation has the cultivation of everything progressive and revolutionary in German history. The GDR, after all, has historic roots in the centuries-old struggle of the German people for social progress, particularly in the struggle of the revolutionary German workers class for liberation from capitalist exploitation.

The penetrating social changes in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society also have a lasting effect on the ethnic components in the socialist German nation and its national life. On the one hand, the German ethnic characteristics merge with socialism. Thereby the qualitatively new, socialist national ties are generated, which more and more clearly delimit the socialist German nation from the capitalist German nation. On the other hand, to the degree that the socialist way of life continues to form, the

traditional modes of thinking and conduct also change. New habits, customs and traditions arise that are rooted in the needs of socialist life. Traditions handed on receive a new, socialist content, and life-styles, habits and traditions not commensurate with socialism are gradually done away with. In this way, changes start in certain ethnic characteristics, marks and features, whereby the German ethnic character is enriched. Through the reality of our socialist nation, a richer content, shaped by socialism, is gained for the concept of "German."

On the basis of the existence and development of the socialist German nation and the processes described for its further development, the socialist German national consciousness forms and consolidates as a reflection of this historic reality. It also acts as an important factor in the further consolidation and development of the socialist nation. For that reason the consolidation of the socialist German national consciousness among all classes and strata in our nation is an extremely important ideological task. The socialist national consciousness settles the historic fact of the independent existence of a socialist German nation which differs qualitatively from the previous capitalist German nation and equally much from the surviving capitalist nation in the FRG--in the thinking, feeling and intent of the people. The socialist German national consciousness reflects the historic past, the current situation and the future perspectives of the nation as much as its achievements and accomplishments, but also its international position, by a whole complex of views, attitudes and emotions relating to the socialist German nation as a member of the community of socialist nations.

As our socialist national consciousness reflects both the internal and external development of our nation, and as this nation itself has national as well as international features, the socialist national consciousness points beyond the nation itself and conceives of it as a component of the international community of socialist nations. It combines socialist patriotism with socialist internationalism in organic unity. "Our national pride has nothing in common with national arrogance. As patriots, we guard and defend the national dignity of our socialist fatherland while we are, at the same time, consistent proletarian internationalists. Our concept of national dignity thus implies responsibility toward world socialism, the international workers movement and all progressive forces on the earth."⁶

By establishing the developed socialist society, which is "the common revolutionary work of the workers class and all working people in the countries of the socialist community,"⁷ the inevitability in the rapprochement among the socialist nations obtains a higher degree of effectiveness because the conditions for the rapprochement process are becoming increasingly more favorable. "With the blossoming of every socialist nation and the consolidation of the sovereignty of the socialist states, their mutual relations are becoming increasingly closer, more and more common elements emerge in their policy, economy and public life, and their developmental levels are gradually becoming more alike. This process of gradual rapprochement among the socialist countries appears today in all clarity as an inevitable

phenomenon."⁸ The socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries is the basis and at the same time the main road for the rapprochement of the socialist nations, in the course of which each nation absorbs more and more international elements. The full development of a nation's creative capacities, its blossoming and its becoming more like the other socialist nations thus form two reciprocally conditioned and penetrating sides of one and the same process. Our fraternal cooperation and our gradually becoming more like the other socialist nations are indispensably prerequisite to our own socialist nation's successful development. Its blossoming and consolidation promote the rapprochement of the socialist nations while strengthening the entire socialist community.

The socialist German nation is a historic reality and its further development, an inevitable process. That cannot be taken away either by conjuring up some fictitious "unity of the German nation" or by court rulings of any court in the world. In view of the crises-torn capitalist world, which ultimately also threatens the existence of the nations and the national life of the peoples, we may, in the 30th year of the GDR's existence, affirm this: The birth and growth of the socialist German nation is one of the most impressive results of our socialist state's three decades of successful development. It attests to our society's healthy and stable advancing, to our people's ever greater blossoming in all its creative capacities under our party's leadership, and points to a happy future of our nation within the community of the peoples of the socialist states.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hermann Axen, "On the Development of the Socialist Nation in the GDR," "Sozialismus und revolutionärer Weltprozess" (Socialism and Revolutionary World Process), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 281.
2. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 1 December 1978, p 10.
3. Ibid.
4. Erich Honecker, "Using All the Advantages of Socialism," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 261-262.
5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 56.
6. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 73.
7. "Programm . . .," loc. cit, p 21.
8. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 9.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

Development of Socialist Democracy

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 34 No 9/10, Sep-Oct 79 signed to press
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Socialist Democracy--Its Development and Perfection

[Summary of article by Horst Sindermann, president, People's Chamber; member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 915-922]

[Text] By tracing our path from the hard beginning in the development of our power organs, mainly the following matters are presented: The historic experiences that had to be taken into account; the difference in principle between bourgeois parliamentarianism and the socialist society's representative bodies; ownership in the means of production and freedom; the main task as a constitutional mission; and the further shaping of our socialist law as an expression of the perfection of socialist democracy.

The GDR in the World Revolutionary Process

[Summary of article by Hermann Axen, member, SED Politburo and Central Committee secretary for international relations; pp 923-930. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] The founding of the GDR was an important chain link of the revolutionary world process, of the formation of the socialist world system. Through constant bitter class struggle against imperialism, the successful development of the first socialist German state took place, turning it into a firm component of the socialist community and an active factor of the revolutionary world process. With the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the GDR is making its growing contribution to the strengthening of world socialism and to peace and anti-imperialist solidarity.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 142, 17 Sep 79 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Attack Against Western Policy on Africa"]

[Text] The SED Central Committee secretary for international relations, Hermann Axen, has sharply attacked the Western policy on Africa. He claims, in the theoretical party journal EINHEIT, that "interference by the NATO powers in the internal affairs of the young African states" had increased. The African peoples were "to be prevented by various methods from freely deciding on their own destiny." The Socialist International was trying in Africa "to split the revolutionary forces and gain followers for its reformist conceptions which solely and exclusively paved the way for neo-colonialism." Precisely for that reason, Axen emphasized, "strengthening the cooperation between the countries of real socialism and the young African states has become a task of strategic importance" (EINHEIT 9-10/79).

Socialist Planned Economy for the Benefit of the People, for the Strengthening of Our Republic

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; pp 931-939. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Planned Economy Achievements, Role of Combines Reviewed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The GDR's development as a socialist state was, is and will be connected with socialist planned economy. What were the prerequisites and conditions for the development of the planned economy? What is its importance to the shaping of the developed socialist society? How can the planned economy assure today and in the future high continuity in economic and social development and fully meet the requirements for the growth of the productive forces? What, in particular, is the role of the combines in this process?

Creative Implementation of Lenin's Cooperative Plan in GDR Agriculture

[Summary of article by Gerhard Grueneberg, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for agriculture; pp 940-947. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Agricultural Policy Objectives, Achievements Reviewed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] During the GDR's 30-year development, penetrating revolutionary changes have taken place in the countryside. An efficient socialist agriculture has been created,

marked by specialization and cooperation. Fully utilizing the advantages contained in it and further deepening the cooperation will make possible changing agriculture into a production branch based on science and technology, intensifying it further and gradually going into industrialized large-scale production. That, at the same time, requires our deepening the socialist social relations, to which the implementation of the LPG statutes is making a decisive contribution.

The Work of Millions

[Summary of article by Harry Tisch, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; chairman, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); pp 948-955]

[Text] Led by the SED and firmly on its side, the trade unions have been involved in co-determining all decisive steps in the construction of our socialist society. Thirty years GDR have been 30 years during which the trade unions have been representing their interests with success. They consider it a class duty of every trade unionist to strengthen the GDR by his deeds and initiatives. To elevate the material and cultural standard of living thereby and shape the socialist way of life is the decisive concern of trade union work. Thus the trade unions are spreading Marxism-Leninism, provide active education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and resolutely struggle for the safeguarding of peace.

We Stand Guard Over Our Achievements

[Summary of article by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense; member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 956-963. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] The reliable protection of our socialist work of construction has at all times been assured under party leadership throughout the three decades of the GDR's existence in firm comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. That has simultaneously been an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace. In view of the increasing activities by the enemies of detente it will continue to be important always to keep the

defense potential of socialism at an appropriate level. It also belongs among the noblest tasks of socialist national defense to develop the working people's abilities for strengthening our socialist fatherland all-around.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 139, 12 Sep 79 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Kessler Calls for 'Stable Defense Motivation' Among GDR Youth"]

[Text] According to the chief of the Political Main Administration of the GDR Army, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, greater efforts should still have to be made by those in charge of military education in providing youth with "stable defense motivation." In a speech to functionaries of the pre-military Society for Sport and Technology (GST) in Potsdam, Kessler made the point that youth must be made to realize ever more clearly "that the class enemy, even when he finds himself compelled to negotiate with us and shows us the friendliest smile, always remains our enemy." At all times one should have to expect "that imperialism, whenever the situation appears favorable, contrives adventures and passes on to aggression." It was also possible for military conflicts "to take unexpected turns and grow into worldwide war." Soldiers should have to "fully face such realities" and be ready and able "to pledge their lives without reservation and annihilate any imperialist aggressor." To get to that point, political-ideological work should have to be conducted "more effectively." For example, it should have to be convincingly "explained to youth that with the National People's Army armed forces have arisen which are fundamentally different from the revanchist army of FRG imperialism."

The GDR Defense Minister Hoffmann also has expressed himself much like Kessler. He wrote in the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT that one "could not do enough for strengthening our armed forces' fighting spirit and our people's dedication to defense." That, he said, suggested the growing place value of ideological work in general and of "socialist military education," in particular. Whatever was missed in the military education for children and young people today would show its full effects in the second half of the 1980's and in the 1990's, at a time, that is, when the soldiers would have to undergo their military service. Consequently, military education should have to be given with prescience. (KONKRET 8/79, EINHEIT 9-10/79).

Berlin--For 30 Years the Capital of the GDR

[Summary of article by Konrad Naumann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; first secretary, SED Berlin Bezirk Management; pp 964-972. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Berlin, capital of the GDR, custodian and continuer of the revolutionary traditions. Its growth and prosperity have their firm roots in the strength of the Berlin party organization, the energetic work of the Berlin working people, and the solidarity of all the GDR citizens with their capital. Berlin, bearing the honorific title "City of Peace," is the political, economic and intellectual-cultural center of our socialist nation. This function places the highest demands on the work of the party organization, which has grown qualitatively and quantitatively through the implementation of the great tasks. The Berlin communists are going to live up to them in honors.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 142, 17 Sep 79 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Strengthening of East Berlin Party Organization Demanded--Nearly 14 Percent of East Berliners Belong to SED"]

[Text] A "political-ideological and organizational strengthening" of the East Berlin SED party organization has been demanded by its boss, Konrad Naumann. He explained his demand in the party journal EINHEIT, among other things, by "the intensifying class struggle" in the ideological field. Special attention, according to Naumann, should be given to "equipping our SED comrades still better for aggressively explaining our good policy."

Naumann pointed out in this connection that a change of generations had taken place in the ranks of the East Berlin SED. The average age of party members was 44, and nearly 11 percent of the comrades consisted of young people up to 25 years of age. Some 51 percent of the comrades had been admitted to the party only after the wall was built. Altogether the East Berlin party organization now has 155,000 comrades, barely 14 percent of the population. Nearly 40 percent of all party members are workers. (EINHEIT 9-10/79).

CDR--Fatherland of the Young

[Summary of article by Egon Krenz, first secretary, Free German Youth (FDJ); candidate member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 973-980]

[Text] The party principle of trusting in youth and assigning responsibility to it has stood up well as a dynamic principle of youth policy. That could once again be seen at the National Youth Festival. It demonstrated the close ties between the young generation and its socialist fatherland,

the GDR, and their confidence in the policy of the workers class party. Helping the party in educating steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society who act in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism remains the basic thrust of FDJ work. By that the FDJ is reinforcing its ranks as a helper and fighting reserve of the SED.

Strength of Proletarian Internationalism and Development of GDR

[Summary of article by Anatoliy G. Yegorov, member, CPSU Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, CPSU CC; member, USSR Academy of Sciences; pp 981-988]

[Text] Proceeding from historic testimonials on the fraternal relations between Lenin's party and the KPD, the article deals with the liberation of the German people from Hitler fascism by the Soviet Union and the use the workers class in the east of Germany made of its historic chance; the founding of the GDR as a historic turning point in the history of the German people and as an important element in the formation of the socialist world system; and the increasing requirements for coordinated cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries at the present time.

Socialist Economic Integration--A Decisive Guarantee for Our Development

[Summary of article by Dr Gerhard Weiss, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; permanent GDR representative at CEMA; pp 997-1002]

[Text] The CEMA countries--the most stable and dynamic economic region in the world. For the GDR, CEMA is a factor in its own development it could no longer do without. The long-term target programs decided on at the 32nd and 33rd CEMA session, based on the complex program, set down the CEMA countries' strategy of cooperation in the crucial areas of material production. The focal point is found in stronger joint efforts by the CEMA countries toward insuring their raw material and energy needs and enhancing the efficiency of their whole scientific-technical potential.

With the People--For the People

[Summary of article by Prof Hanna Wolf, member, SED Central Committee; dean (rector), Karl Marx Party College, SED CC; pp 1003-1009]

[Text] The GDR is deeply rooted in the history of our people. Everything progressive and revolutionary, especially in the struggle by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and in the struggle of the revolutionary German social democracy and the German leftists for a German democratic republic, is preserved in it and brought to realization on a higher level. Implacably the communists fought against any kind of opportunism and revisionism and led the workers class to victory in the socialist revolution. The GDR--risen from the ruins under the leadership of the workers class and its revolutionary party--is recognized and respected worldwide today, and its further strengthening is the responsibility of us all.

Real and Unreal Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; dean (rector), Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1010-1017]

[Text] The international influence of real socialism is growing constantly, but at the same time there exist different ideas about socialism--reflecting the real course of the revolutionary world process but also the enemy's activities seeking to counter real socialism through concepts of unreal socialism. While coming to grips with "democratic socialism," it is being proven that the recognition of the objective laws of social development, especially of the socialist revolution, and the replacement of monopoly power by the power of the workers class are fundamental conditions for real socialism.

High Net Income for the Benefit of Our Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, economist, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences and EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1018-1025. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Significance of High National Net Income Explained," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] What is net income in socialism, how is it produced and how can it be raised? These questions are answered in theory and are connected with our party's current economic policy tasks. It is explained why the shaping of developed socialism requires a high net income and what importance in particular attaches to productive accumulation. The relations between reducing costs and net income are explained, and conclusions are drawn from that for cost reductions and efficiency improvements.

The Age of Marxism-Leninism--Legacy and Commitment

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Günter Heyden, director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1026-1033]

[Text] The preservation and exploration of the legacy of the classic authors and of the revolutionary workers movement as an important part in the creative application and appropriation of Marxism-Leninism. By publishing MEGA and other documents and by the research and exploration of the legacy of outstanding personalities, especially of the German workers movement, our party is making its contribution to the utilization of the revolutionary heritage of the workers class. The topical significance of the Marxist-Leninist reception to our legacy in the ideological class struggle of present times.

Creative Application of Marxism-Leninism in Our Party's Policy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department chief in SED Central Committee; EINHEIT chief editor; pp 1034-1043]

[Text] The history of the GDR is analyzed under the aspect of the creative application of the universally valid inevitabilities which is so necessary for the victorious revolutionary process. What is it that testifies to this kind of creativity in the SED's practical politics? What are the historic-concrete developmental conditions and requirements for struggle to which the resolutions of the eighth and ninth party congresses conform? How is their political course carried on under changed conditions, and what requirements result therefrom?

Socialism's Driving Forces To Be Fully Developed

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; chairman, Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy; pp 1044-1051]

[Text] The forces impelling the working people to act under socialism are put into effect to the extent that the identities on which the socialist society is based objectively, in terms of social, collective and personal interests, are given expression in the shaping of all public domains. How are these relations of interests be unfolded and used as impulses for creative activity? This is being presented mainly by use of the matter of plan and initiative and the interaction between material incentives and ideological motivations.

Human Renewal

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; pp 1052-1059]

[Text] Through the fundamental social changes in the GDR, the personal lives of the people also have become new in substance and manifestations. Fascism and revanchism and war and nationalist agitation have lost all ground in our country. The ideals of peace and active antifascism and the conscious commitment to real socialism govern the thoughts and conduct of millions of people. In this struggle for worldwide social progress, the characteristic features of socialist man are becoming ever more pronounced. Art and literature have a vital share in this continuing process.

Ideal and Reality in Our Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 1060-1067]

[Text] The 30-year history of our republic is marked by the purposeful realization of the fundamental ideals of the workers class and all progressive forces. What is the basis for this strength of our socialist ideals in their shaping our lives, orientations and reality? What role do the ideals play in the ideological class

struggle of our time? How does the superiority of socialist ideals over bourgeois concepts of ideals manifest itself? The creative manner of coping with the dialectic of ideal and reality by our party.

Development of GDR and Dilemma of Anticomunist Prophecy and Diversion

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; chairman, Scientific Council for Research on Imperialism; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1076-1083]

[Text] Thirty years of successful development of the first socialist state on German soil, giving all the evidence for its stability and future prospects, have also been 30 years of a bitter, anticomunist struggle against us by imperialism, especially the FRG. Through the strength of evidence from facts already historic, it is being explained that as much as the imperialist frontal attack against the GDR and as much as the diplomatic blockade, the designs at treaty-violating meddling likewise are condemned to fail, and that an attempt at carrying on in its anticomunist continuity can lead imperialism only into a continuity of more defeats.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN PRELIMINARY STUDY OF GDR POSITION ON DISARMAMENT

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 12 No 9, Sep 79 signed to press
24 Aug 79 pp 938-950

[Analyses and Reports' feature article by Wilhelm Bruns: "The Position of the GDR on Disarmament." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article by Lt Gen Fritz Streletz, cited in footnote 40 below, is available in JPRS 73318, 26 April 79, No 1673 of this series, pp 68-73; also available is an East Berlin VOLKSARMEE companion piece by the general, translated in JPRS 73349, 1 May 79, No 1674 of this series, pp 17-20. For a translation of the Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV article by Karl-Wilhelm Fricke, cited in footnote 49 below, see JPRS 69008 of this series, 27 April 77, pp 52-64.]

[Text] Introduction

The arms race is swallowing up some \$ 400 million annually, and the trend is toward increasing amounts.

Nuclear, biological-bacteriological and chemical arms programs have created a potential for destruction which is capable of wiping out human life on earth several times over. Despite numerous international attempts to end the arms race, efforts have been unsuccessful "in releasing even the smallest quantity of the enormous material and human resources that are being wasted on the unproductive and escalating arms race, resources that should be earmarked for economic and social development" (Final Document of the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, 1 July 1978).

The arms race is producing precisely the opposite of that which its apologists maintain: It is not producing greater security; rather, in the opinion of the 145 states which approved the final statement by the General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, it means "a growing threat to world peace and international security and to the survival of mankind." A situation has arisen in which it is urgently necessary to approach the problems of the arms race and disarmament with a new philosophy of disarmament (Resolution 33/71 of the 33rd UN General Assembly).

Nowhere else in the world is there a concentration of troops and weapons as large as that on both sides of the Elbe. The two German states are not non-participants here -- in a threefold sense: The scope of their armament efforts is substantial; they are affected by the arms race; they are, however, also involved in arms control and disarmament efforts.

Even a cursory glance at GDR publications makes plain the verbal intensity with which the GDR espouses the cause of disarmament. The GDR, which is the sole subject here, has committed itself under constitutional law (Article 6 of the Constitution, 1974) and international law (see Table 1) to universal and complete disarmament as well as to partial disarmament measures.

Table 1. The GDR has become a signatory to the following multilateral arms regulation and disarmament conventions:

8 August 1963: Agreement on Banning Nuclear Weapons-Testing in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water

27 January 1967: Treaty on Principles for the Activity of States in the Research and Use of Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies

1 July 1968: Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons

11 February 1971: International Treaty on Banning the Stationing of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Ocean Bottom

10 April 1972: International Convention on Banning the Development, Manufacture and Storage of Bacteriological Weapons and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction

18 May 1977: Convention on Banning Military and Other Hostile Applications of Agents Affecting the Environment

Source: "Status of Multilateral Arms Regulation and Disarmament Agreements." Special Supplement to the United States Disarmament Yearbook, Vol II: 1977, New York, 1978 (UN Publication E 78 IX 2).

An element of the self-image of so-called real socialism is that the "struggle by the socialist states to achieve disarmament" is "...an integral part of their foreign policies. Socialist foreign policy understands disarmament to be a reduction of the armed forces and armaments of states to be covered by treaty, to be implemented by stages and to serve as a safeguard for peace against imperialist policies of force, leaving only those contingents needed to maintain national internal order and equipped solely with weapons employed by police forces."¹ Is this conceptually determining understanding of disarmament also a behavioral determinant for the GDR?

The subject of the "GDR and disarmament" is too broad, unwieldy and multi-faceted to be analyzed comprehensively and exhaustively in a few pages of a journal. It is our intention here to concentrate on that which is fundamental and which can be generalized. The emphasis is to be on a framework for analysis and on producing results to be studied in greater depth by research into peace and conflict as well as by FRG research on the GDR. Thus, the work presented here is more in the nature of a preliminary study. Two things are to be accomplished in this regard:

An argumentative treatment of the GDR's analyses and self-image;

The declared commitment to disarmament is to be confronted by empirical reality, at least by way of example. That is to say, the most important test of GDR representations is not an "essence" which is difficult to define, but a reality which can be grasped empirically.

The frequently and necessarily speculative question regarding the GDR's actual expenditures for arms and the National People's Army's (NVA) "internal" state will be discussed more from methodological viewpoints.²

Though the following study will work out the GDR's position on disarmament and arms control, this does not mean that the GDR plays a specific and singular role; rather, the point of reference will be its integration in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.³ With regard to method, the attempt will be made to acquire knowledge about our subject by way of immanent criticism, which is to say that no external claims will be applied to the subject of our study; rather, the subject will be approached, analyzed and criticized on the basis of claims generated by that subject. Available space precludes a development of the process of ideological criticism proposed here on the basis of an investigation of every aspect of the situation.⁴

How does the GDR view the arms/disarmament problem? How does it define it? Where does it think the causes lie for the arms race, and what barriers are there to disarmament? What is the origin of wars?

These questions permit an insight into the GDR's published "disarmament research."

How does the GDR justify its armament, its image of the enemy? Which strategies and methods does it think can solve the arms race problem? How does the GDR assess proposals that do not come from the USSR (this can be illustrated by the example of measures designed to build trust)? What contributions as regards diplomatic conferences is the GDR making toward achieving the common goal outlined by the Warsaw Treaty Organization of "universal and complete disarmament with strict international controls"?⁵

Both German states stress the necessity and possibility of working together, regardless of social orders, to end the arms race. The FRG and the GDR have pledged bilaterally in the Basic Treaty (Article 5) to support "efforts to

reduce armed forces and arms in Europe," with the goal of "universal and complete disarmament under effective international controls."

Are there at least partial possibilities of arriving at German-German cooperation or a similarity of views on a solution of the problem?

Causes of the Arms Race -- A GDR Statement

It is well known that causes do not lie around like objects on the street. They must be figured out through analytical connections, through analysis of circumstances.

It is the view of GDR Minister for National Defense Heinz Hoffmann that "the economic causes of the arms race are superprofits; the political causes are extortion and the exertion of pressure in the fight against the socialist states and the anti-imperialist liberation movement; the military cause is the effort to gain superiority, to be able to wage war and win it as well."⁶

A statement such as this is not arrived at inductively, through empirical analysis, but rather is taken from the often quoted, but indeed not analyzed, "essence of imperialism." "From the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the arms race is" deduced "as a social phenomenon deriving from the essence of imperialism, one whose roots lie in monopoly-capitalist production conditions and which produces out of these conditions an entire system of social, political and ideological forces designed to constantly safeguard and increase the profits of the arms monopolies." And further: "The impulse for the arms race is of necessity inherent in the imperialist system...imperialism is the objective (economic) and subjective (politically responsible) originator of the arms race." Contrasted with this "essence of imperialism," as so defined, is the "essence of socialism": "By contrast, socialist production conditions...by their very nature generate the striving for disarmament and peace which is concentrated in socialist policy. Here there is absolutely no inherent impulse toward an arms race or the procurement of armaments."⁷ Erich Honecker derives the following formula from this essence: "Socialism and peace are identical; capitalism and war are inseparable."

The following apodictic deductions are drawn:

There has been no change in [redacted] Liam's aggressive stance;

Imperialism is at [redacted] the arms race and jeopardizing world peace;

Imperialism's military coalition, NATO, is making "material preparations for war";⁸

If imperialism has been unable to "give vent to" its essential aggressiveness in a new world war, this is due solely to the military strength of the so-called real socialism. The declared "superiority of the Warsaw Pact,"

which has "become greater,"¹¹ and the constant increase of "combat readiness" are the "guarantors of peace" in international politics;

"Socialism's preponderance in the international arena is forcing" imperialism to concern itself with disarmament proposals put forth by the real socialism (thesis of accommodation).¹²

A chain of arguments such as this which runs through the entire GDR literature on this subject apparently is used to explain and justify a great deal. Thus, this pattern of argumentation serves to explain the Warsaw Pact's enormous arms program, sustain the image of imperialism as the enemy¹³ and justify SED separatist measures such as the "defense training" of GDR youth (the exact opposite of training for peace). These essential deductions also serve to legitimize the appeal to the "combat readiness" of the NVA and to establish through a subordination of all life in the GDR to "defense requirements"¹⁴ a type of "fortress system" that is ultimately incapable of real detente. The "fortress system" here is Fritz Vilmar's term for the mark imposed on a society by the awareness and demonstration of a constant threat from outside, the fixation of all strengths upon an external danger. The fortress system requires "features of an independent linkage of opposites, one which serves solely to safeguard the domestic political domination of power elites."¹⁵

The GDR image of "aggressive imperialism" and the thesis of "material preparation for war" by NATO, both of which require extensive armament efforts on the part of the Warsaw Pact, are not shared by Romania in particular (probably Poland and Hungary as well). It was at the November 1978 session of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow that Romania made a point of espousing a standpoint which deviated from that of the GDR and the USSR: "We are convinced that there is no imminent danger of war, that special measures are not needed at this time...," declared Romanian party chief and Head of State Nicolae Ceausescu.¹⁶

The "Military-Industrial Complex" As a GDR Category of Analysis

As we have been able to show, "Marxist-Leninist" science arrives at its statements on imperialism and socialism by way of essential deductions. This is also true of its views on the various functions of armed forces. Imperialist armed forces serve "the last, but most powerful, of history's systems of exploitation, one which seeks to escape its inevitable downfall through heightened aggressiveness and the brutal application of military force, thereby precipitating the danger of a nuclear holocaust!"¹⁷ Socialist armed forces "serve the victorious working class which, led by its Marxist-Leninist party in league with all working classes and walks of life, exercises power."¹⁸

Marxists know, however, that there is not only a dialectical relationship between essence and phenomenon, but that essence manifests itself in the

phenomenon; thus, every phenomenon is ultimately also a manifestation of essence.

The phenomenon of "real socialism" particularly its armament stance, is not being analyzed empirically. The probable reason is that such an analysis would make statements on the frequently cited essence, statements which would not correspond to its self-image.

In a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the arms race, the "military-industrial complex" category plays a central role. "The principal cause of the continuing arms race in the world is the profit mania of the armament corporations."¹⁹ In the view of GDR scientists, the "military-industrial complex" category has "meanwhile become a scientifically based category of the theory of imperialism."²⁰ The fact that it has only limited analytical value as a category is not even disputed by those who apply it: "Its function is definitely more synthetic than analytical."²¹

A few remarks on the analytical weakness of this category should suffice:

Armament can be traced to both internally controlled as well as externally controlled factors. The exclusive use of the "military-industrial complex" category ascribes armament moncausally and economically to only a single determining factor. The fact is disputed that armament can also be analysed as an externally controlled reaction-to-stimulus mechanism;

Do all capitalist countries have equally strong "military-industrial complexes" which force the arming process? This question goes unanswered. Instead, constant reference is made to the United States and the Federal Republic. Let us take the FRG. Does it have a "military-industrial complex"? This question is answered in the affirmative by GDR authors. From the quantitative aspect, the scant 3-percent armament share of the gross national product and the approximately 300,000 employees of the armament industry (out of more than 25 million gainfully employed persons) provide a negative answer to the question. Even when the FRG arms lobby seeks to obtain follow-up contracts, there is no perceivable dependence upon arms interests on the part of the political leadership.

In the opinion of critical peace research, the "military-industrial complex" category has become obsolete as an exclusive interpretation of the arms race, chiefly because its interpretive value is small.²²

On the Strength of the GDR Conception of the Causes of War

According to the axiom of the causes of war put forth by apologists of the so-called real socialism, a feature of the often cited "essence" of imperialism is that the "socioeconomic order of imperialist states" engenders war.²³

This axiom on the causes of war is arrived at through the process of deduction and is considered sacrosanct; that is to say, it is not open to empirical-analytical scrutiny. Conversely, it follows from the "essence" of socialism that by definition it can only be peaceful. War is attributed to imperialism; peace to socialism. It is a Marxist-Leninist article of faith after "the defeat of the exploitative order and the victory of socialism, the socioeconomic bases of war (will be) eliminated in all countries of the world."²⁴ Of course, it would not have taken the war between two communist states, the People's Republic of China and Viet Nam, in early 1979, to show that the briefly outlined GDR axiom on the causes of war does not stand up to a critical scientific examination.

It is at this point that the apologists of the so-called real socialism encountered a problem which they at first sought to "defuse" with the aid of two terminological strategems:

It was not a war; thus, following the intervention of the People's Republic of China, constant reference was made to an "act of aggression" and a "sudden attack" and similar terms. This position was abandoned for the first time in a lead article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, dated 28 February 1979 (or 10 days after the outbreak of war), with the headline "China's War Against Viet Nam";

Since the causes of war can always be explained only as phenomena of the socioeconomic order of imperialism, the apologists of the so-called real socialism found themselves forced to qualify the leadership of the People's Republic of China as anticomunist.²⁵

This did not, however, "defuse" the problem -- as the SED leadership apparently believed initially. A question remained which was asked especially by citizens in party indoctrination courses -- namely, how can wars occur between noncapitalist states whose economic systems make them socialist states (this had already happened previously between Ethiopia and Somalia, states which called themselves socialist). This question was answered in a GDR publication, but not by an SED functionary. The reply came in a speech by French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais, delivered in Paris and printed by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3-4 March 1979, p 6). Marchais said that China could still be termed a socialist country: "It is obvious that China's socioeconomic structures are those of a socialist state." Marchais concedes that it was a "unique situation for a country which is socialist in its economic and social structures to attack another." How does Marchais explain this "unique situation"? He does it by first pointing out that the process of building socialism "is not immune to human error." In any event, socialism or communism cannot be blamed. "It is not socialism which is to blame for the drama that is unfolding today in Viet Nam -- but only its immaturity in the People's Republic of China," its "dramatic inadequacy."

One thing is certain: The GDR's monocausal thesis of the causes of war, with its obstinate view of socioeconomic structures, stands refuted. Phenomenon has checkmated essence.

A Digression: On Disarmament Research in the GDR

As we know, there is no institutional peace research in the GDR.²⁶ The essential explanation for this is that the GDR's Marxist-Leninists are peace researchers per se, because Marxism-Leninism is the "peace ideal par excellence."²⁷

As a result of the great demand for research findings on disarmament, 145 states pledged in the concluding statement of the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, 1 July 1978, to promote disarmament research on both national and international levels.

Is the GDR carrying out disarmament research? The justification for this question derives from the following consideration: The only credible disarmament policy is one which also sufficiently analyzes the problems that necessarily derive from the disarmament process. There can be no conclusive answer here to the question of whether there is peace research going on in the GDR. All the same, it must be remembered that only one scientist from the GDR responded to the appeal of the secretary-general and the UN Secretariat Center on Disarmament to prepare projects relevant to disarmament; it was Klaus Engelhardt from the IPW.

The question of whether there is peace research in the GDR is legitimate also because the GDR claims that its policy is scientifically substantiated. This can only mean that disarmament policy is not possible without disarmament research.

If the pertinent GDR literature is taken as an indicator, the following -- unavoidably abridged -- picture is the result:

The GDR's extensive "disarmament literature" scarcely goes beyond indignation over the imperialist arms race. The focus is on the aggressive nature of imperialism;

The subject of the literature is not the arms race in its complexity, nor the dynamics of armament that are operative worldwide -- in which the USSR has a substantial part; rather, the sole subject is the arms stance "of imperialism." This circumscription is justified by Rupprecht with hitherto unfamiliar decisiveness when he says that there is no socialist arms race: "The arms-race concept is not applicable...to socialism in terms of social content; it is not appropriate to it."²⁹ He adds: "There is no socialist arms race, but there is a defense industry within socialism."³⁰

Several points that have been discussed at length in international disarmament literature continue to be conspicuous by their absence in the GDR

literature, despite the substantial space devoted to treatment of this matter:

There appears no detailed real analysis of the arms potential of the Warsaw Pact, of the "defense industry within socialism";

Figures and statistics on the arms volume (including its structure) always appear in reference to "imperialist states" only. The fact that the West's "lie about a threat" is misleading, as maintained by the GDR, is not being used to refute the fact that the GDR is perhaps quantifying its theses of superiority (see above);

The rudimentary stages of armament regulation which are being discussed in the West under the heading of "arms control," and which occupy the middle ground for action between a continuation of the arms race and the future goal of universal disarmament, are frequently discredited, although reevaluations are indicated here, perhaps in the case of measures designed to build trust, which we shall discuss later;

The attempt to limit the arms race will stand or fall with the degree of success in covering all territories and/or all weapons systems. There must be no "gray areas";

Attempts within the UN to proscribe particularly inhuman weapons have met with no response in the GDR media. The reason: The arsenals of the USSR are also involved here;

This theme was not found in the GDR literature until the Warsaw Pact session of November 1978 -- and so far only in general terms -- at which time it signaled its intention to negotiate on all weapons systems, particularly those which hitherto had been included in neither the MBFR nor SALT negotiations;

There has been no detailed information that the USSR is also participating in qualitative armament (development of new kinds of weapons). In connection with GDR indignation over the neutron bomb, the sole reference -- and a fairly menacing one -- has been this: "The USSR does in fact possess modern weapons for the protection of socialism and peace"³¹;

The "capabilities" and "intentions" of imperialism are described extensively (although also in a more or less denunciatory manner); the Warsaw Treaty Organization's own disposition remains undiscussed. It is left to Western observers to draw conclusions from the offensive character of the communist military strategy.³²

In its otherwise quite extensive coverage, the GDR literature persistently screens out several developments which are nevertheless necessary to an understanding of the arms-control policy scene.

One is the fact that the USSR (the Warsaw Treaty Organization) possesses conventional superiority and a rough equality with American intercontinental nuclear weapons.³³ A second is the observation that the American president has repeatedly held back on the construction of several weapons systems in the expectation of Soviet restraint in the area of weapons technology. Included here is the abandonment of B-1 bomber construction and renunciation of the development of a new intercontinental ground-launched missile which can be fired from mobile launch pads. A third factor is that the Soviet arms capacity is considerably greater than needed for defense.³⁴ This latter point, which is sometimes dramatized in the West, frequently provides excuses for "modernizing" NATO's weapons.

This is mentioned here in order to make clear that real arms developments on both sides are not adequately reflected in the GDR literature.

On the Justification for "Socialist" Armament

The apologists of the so-called real socialism cite four main reasons in justification of their armament efforts:

The often quoted "essence" of imperialism; "NATO's aggressive endeavors require a corresponding reinforcement of the defensive strength of the states of the Warsaw Pact and their armed forces."³⁵

"As long as imperialist states continue their aggressive military strategy and the arms programs that go with it, the people of the socialist states will always do what is necessary to ensure their safety from imperialist encroachment."³⁶

"Imperialism" appears as the pacemaker in the arms race; [socialism's] own role is characterized as that of the one who is following the crowd;

The Warsaw Pact's increased arms efforts are tied in with the conflict with the People's Republic of China. It is said that the "adventurous" policies of the "Peking leaders" forces the Warsaw Pact into heightened military vigilance through armament;³⁷

The guarantor-of-peace thesis; the decisive basis for the people's struggle for peace are "not the "aggressiveness and increasing preparedness of NATO for war";³⁸ is allegedly solely the "power of the real socialism to impose and maintain peace."³⁹ This guarantor-of-peace thesis in justification of the Warsaw Pact's arms efforts is appearing with increasing frequency in GDR publications. "Socialism is needed if peace is to be maintained, and the more vigorous the development of socialism has been, the more secure the position of peace"⁴⁰;

In addition to the more politically accentuated justifications obtained by way of essential deductions, recently a justification according to international law has been added: Is there a right to armament?

According to DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, the "peace-loving states" have a vested right under international law to arm. "As long as aggressive forces exist and the danger of violations of the prohibition on violence has not been banned for good and all," the "peace-loving states" must also "have at their disposal the means to counter effectively such breaches of the peace, if necessary by exercising their right of self-defense."⁴¹

It is certainly permissible to view armament efforts in the context of Article 51 of the UN Charter and to assert that international law does not prohibit armament. Nevertheless, this applies only with strict observance of two preconditions:

1. The "right" to self-defense may not be retained solely by "real socialism" (equated with "peace-loving states").
2. Not every dimension of armament can be reconciled with the right of self-defense. If armament exceeds "pure" defense purposes in its scope as well as its structure, it has the effect of a threat and provides the other party with an excuse to intensify its arms efforts.

Arroeger claims for the "socialist states" alone the "inalienable right" and the "obligation" to "provide a permanent individual and joint guarantee of their national defense."⁴² Anyone who denies the capitalist states this "inalienable right" to defense efforts and relegates them to the realm of illegitimacy is checked by Leonid Brezhnev, who considers the "ability to take into account the legitimate interests of the other side" as essential to detente.⁴³ If the NATO states as well as other nonsocialist states deduce from their "conviction as regards the military superiority of the Soviet Union"⁴⁴ the necessity of not neglecting their defense efforts, then this is legitimate -- from their point of view.

"There is no justification for the arms race, for dashing from one type of weapon to another," said Herbert Fechner, head of the GDR IPU (Interparliamentary Union) delegation in his speech to the 65th Annual IPU Conference on 5 September 1978 in Bonn.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, Fechner directed this certainly important perception to "imperialism" alone, thus making it worthless.

X reacts to the armament of Y. Armament is conceived primarily as an externally controlled process which takes place according to the action-reaction sequence. Both ("imperialism" as well as "socialism") justify their arms programs with the frequently overblown armament figures of the other side.

On the Recording of Arms Expenditures

Apologists of the so-called real socialism do not dispute the fact that the GDR appropriates substantial funds to "increase defensive strength." It is inordinately difficult to determine just how much it appropriates.

The restrictive research conditions which are characteristic of GDR research in general are all the more restrictive in the armament sector. Reliable PSL research on the GDR which works with quotable material is confronted with a situation that merely permits determinations with limited validity. This inhibitive situation cannot -- as often happens -- be improved by speculation and uncontrollable conjecture.

"In the interest of maintaining peace, expenditures for the national defense of the German Democratic Republic were set at 8 billion 674 million marks," according to the 1979 economic Plan, dated 15 December 1978.⁴⁶ What is contained in these expense items? Are not, as is suspected, the fairly large allocations for GDR arms expenditures -- from the standpoint of volume -- contained in other "hidden" budget items (perhaps for arms research and development)?

The situation as regards sources allows of no scientifically reliable statements on the actual level of GDR military expenditures (or of the Warsaw Pact). Western literature generally assumes a considerable difference between the volume given and actual outlays.

The methodical efforts used to arrive at halfway reliable estimates of Warsaw Pact military expenditures, despite substantial material and research problems, have led under ideal circumstances to three "schools":

The so-called budget method. The representatives of this school derive their data from published budget figures. Since, however, the official defense budget does not contain specific costs, one is forced into vague guesses as to where and in what amounts arms outlays are concealed in the overall budget!

The so-called hardware method. This method uses only statistics from the machinery and metal-processing industry to estimate expenditures for arms production. The procedure is amazingly simple: The armament share of overall production (overall output) is found by simply subtracting the civilian components. The remainder should then cover arms products;

The representatives of the so-called building-block methods proceed in this manner: The detectable elements of armament are compiled, converted to American prices and then added together. The question underlying this method is this: How much would it cost the United States to develop, procure and maintain the armed forces and armament of the USSR?

These methods are applied by American scientists to USSR armament in particular.⁴⁷ They are inadequate and vary in their results to such a degree -- the scope of the figures is so broad -- that it is impossible to obtain an acceptable framework for a relevant statement.

Nor is assistance to be gained from the three frequently consulted international sources on Western military budgets: the "Arms and Disarmament

"Yearbook" of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI); the periodical MILITARY BALANCE, published by the "Institute for Strategic Studies" in London; or the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) document on "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1967-1976."⁴⁸

Like all East bloc states (with the exception of Romania), the DDR is resisting the UN effort to itemize arms expenditures and contribute with different sets of figures to verification and a matrix of comparability of these defense expenditures.

Analysis of DDR armament policy within the framework of the Warsaw Pact is not only a subject for research on the DDR but also for the peace and conflict research sponsored by the FRG. Yet, neither here nor in established DDR research is this topic being given sufficient study using modern socio-scientific methods.

Characteristic of the state of research in this area is that a journalist -- granted, an especially knowledgeable one -- has offered the only quotable and valid study in this field in the past 2 years, while the official researchers on the DDR and peace have been keeping themselves "covered." Using DDR figures, Karl-Wilhelm Pricke has pointed out some important development trends and arrived at the conclusion that beginning with the FRG's "new" Ostpolitik and Germany policy -- thus, since 1969 -- the DDR defense budget had risen by 73.5 percent by 1977.⁴⁹

According to ACDA figures (see above), the DDR is spending 6.5 percent of its gross national product (something which actually does not exist there) and 13.4 percent of the state budget for what the DDR calls a "guarantee of defense capability." With regard to validity and priorities, the ACDA lists the following figures: the DDR spends 2.4 percent of its gross national product for public health and 4.9 percent for education and training.⁵⁰ Thus, in terms of percentages the DDR lays out substantially more for "defense" than for health and education.

DDR Diplomatic Stance on Disarmament

Arms control and disarmament are tasks for negotiation, which is to say that they cannot be implemented against the express will of an important state (or an important group of states); they must always be the result of compromises. There is in existence a framework for negotiation on arms control and disarmament.

With the exception of the bilateral SALT negotiations between the United States and the USSR, the DDR is a direct participant in all important relevant negotiations:

Deliberations of the restructured Geneva Disarmament Committee;

Talks of the UN General Assembly's first principal committee responsible for arms control and disarmament;

Regional efforts at troop reductions and disarmament in Vienna in conjunction with the MBFR talks.

The result is that the GDR stance is identical to that of the USSR, even to the point of nuances. For example, the GDR has shared Soviet reservations with regard to Western arms control overtures.

While the Western states have viewed cooperative arms regulation and control as a prerequisite for disarmament, the East bloc states have suspected that this meant only a substitute for the prospect of "universal disarmament" being pursued by them. The line of argument declaring arms control to be a precondition and prerequisite for disarmament "is in reality tantamount to an impediment to disarmament."⁵¹

The rejection of Western arms control overtures by the USSR and the GDR has become obsolete not only because the USSR today sees in efforts toward arms control a definitely viable beginning leading to disarmament,⁵² but also because the GDR has affixed its signature to numerous international conventions on arms control (Table 1). Moreover, the GDR international law establishment states that there is an obligation under international law in the area of disarmament to "conclude agreements on partial disarmament (partial disarmament is interpreted not as substantive disarmament measures, but merely arms control measures)."⁵³ Thus, the only agreement in Table 1 which is a "genuine" disarmament accord is the one on banning the development, manufacture and storage of bacteriological and toxin weapons and on their destruction. The other agreements signed and ratified by the GDR are "classic" arms control accords.

It can be said in general that with regard to diplomatic disarmament endeavors, the GDR also reduces this complex problem area exclusively to Soviet proposals. The origin of a proposal becomes its exclusive criterion for acceptance or rejection. Those coming from sources other than the Soviet Union are either lumped together and termed "unrealistic" or simply ignored. Thus, up to this point there has been no explicit response from the GDR to the following proposals by NATO or individual NATO states:

British Foreign Minister Owen suggested that on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the NATO Treaty in May 1979 there be a "dialog and consultations" with the Warsaw Pact at the ministerial level;

The second follow-up session of the CSCE planned for the fall of 1980 in Airlid should be conducted at the level of heads of government or foreign ministers (a Genscher proposal);

French President Giscard d'Estaing has proposed a European disarmament conference of all CSCE participants.

A further example: The GDR will have to revise its position on the measures designed to build trust, measures which were proposed by the West and recorded in part in the Helsinki Final Act. This is due less to the measures themselves than to the fact that the Soviet stance has changed. Taking the place of remarks discrediting these measures -- as presented by UN Ambassador and Deputy Foreign Minister Peter Florin as recently as the fall of 1978⁵⁴ -- will have to be a viewpoint that comes closer to the Western stand. This will have to be the case after Brezhnev's speech on 2 March 1979 in Moscow -- which also received attention in the West -- in which he spoke positively with regard to the measures designed to foster trust.⁵⁵

It is well known that the GDR does not allow itself to be topped in the verbal expression of its disarmament avowals. "We are even prepared for the most radical of disarmament measures," said SED General Secretary Erich Honecker at the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum in December 1978, but only "when and if the principle of equal security is observed in all stages."⁵⁶ From the standpoint of substance this conditional sentence is actually the main one. With all its declared willingness for negotiation, there are also limits to such a willingness. Thus, the frequently cited -- though difficult to define -- "own security" is not open to negotiation.⁵⁷

In an analysis of Western statements on disarmament as well, it becomes clear that the boundary line on disarmament lies at points where the states see their respective security interests as violated or adversely affected. The crux of the matter is that these so-called security interests are defined (usually in the absence of recognizable criteria) by each state (or each group of states). The not uncommon result is that this is then perceived as a threat by respective geographical neighbor-states.

The aforementioned verbal willingness of the GDR in the matter of disarmament is also subject to still other essential limitations. For instance, the GDR (the Warsaw Pact) is not willing to make unilateral concessions which under certain circumstances could stimulate disarmament negotiations: "It is absurd to demand of the socialist countries unilateral moves on disarmament, while NATO not only is not disarming but rather is stepping up the pace of its arms buildup."⁵⁸

With regard to the two prerequisites for disarmament being disputed at diplomatic conferences, the GDR -- like the USSR -- is maintaining an especially restrictionist position. One of the concerns is the verification of actions on armament (previous reference has been made to this); the other is control of disarmament agreements. In opposition to the Western demand that disarmament agreements be subject to effective international control, the GDR representative on the Geneva Disarmament Committee took the following position: "We oppose the establishment of an international control organ with broad control authority. An agency such as this would legitimize intervention in the internal affairs of other states and lead to the disclosure of military and commercial secrets." It is the view of the communist states that a "balanced combination of national controls and international procedures"

would be fully adequate;⁵⁹ this "balanced combination" is not specified and lacks detail, however. If the Warsaw Pact states are actually interested in disarmament, and the Western powers make their willingness to disarm dependent upon effective international controls, then it is inconceivable why the USSR and the GDR do not declare their willingness "to accept inspections of some kind."⁶⁰

There is another cause peculiar to the GDR for reasonable doubt about the GDR's actual willingness to disarm. The striking real increase in GDR military expenditures is attributed by Western peace researchers to the "extreme need for security on the part of the GDR leadership. The result is dim prospects for translating detente in foreign policy into measures designed to reduce arms."⁶¹

German-German Cooperation in the Disarmament Sector?

When SED General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker was asked in his interview with the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG for his opinion on what the "key areas of peaceful cooperation" between the FRG and the GDR ought to be, Honecker said that they should "be in support of all efforts that help assure lasting peace. I can see both German states backing such constructive disarmament proposals as the ones put forward by Leonid Brezhnev."⁶² Aside from the fact that Honecker limits the scope of German-German cooperation to exclusively Soviet proposals, there would be sufficient grounds for cooperation of this type, the following being among the most important:

As participants in arms limitation conferences, both states are affected by armament processes and their potential effects;

According to Article 5 of the Basic Treaty, both German states have pledged to support efforts "aimed at universal and complete disarmament with effective international controls." Although the normative content of Article 5 is phrased as minimal and contains no determination on specific measures, the FRG and the GDR have come to an understanding on certain political aims;⁶³

Both German states have also pledged their cooperation on matters of international security and armament in multilateral documents, partly in political form (such as the Final Act of Helsinki or the Final Document of the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, 1 July 1978), and partly in legally binding form (such as the UN Charter).

There is agreement on the political goal but not on specific measures, however. This is the crucial point in this context. Both agree on the future goal of "universal and complete disarmament," as they do on the necessity of accomplishing it by stages. Yet there is dispute over what form the choreography of these steps should take, which measures should be

taken and when (question of priority) and which proposals are suitable for attaining the future goal.

There has been no lack of past GDR attempts to submit disarmament proposals to the FRG (at the time when German-German relations had not yet been formalized and the GDR had not yet achieved international status as a state). Most of the proposals were addressed to the UN⁶⁴ and were intended merely to serve worldwide notice of the existence of the GDR as a state. It is doubtful whether the FRG was really the addressee with whom a compromise agreement was being sought on the disarmament issue. This doubt is reinforced by two observations: One does not denigrate and consciously mislabel a state with which one wishes to enter into serious negotiation.

None of the proposals reappeared after the GDR had gained international recognition. Thus, after the formalization of German-German relations, the GDR did not continue its attempts to direct disarmament proposals to the Federal Republic. The idea here was to show that disarmament (arms control) did not belong to the areas of German-German relations which could be discussed in terms of productive bilateral cooperation. It is improbable and possibly also unnecessary that this kind of bilateral cooperation should develop. There are a number of reasons for this thesis and prognosis:

It is difficult to conceive of bilateral cooperation between Warsaw Pact and NATO states in the area of arms control and disarmament. This does not mean that useful dialog [cannot] take place between individual states on both sides, with the aim of presenting their own positions and being better able to understand the positions of others;

Problems are involved here which by their nature resist bilateral settlement, particularly by the two German states;

The so-called security dilemma is a characteristic problem for both German states, which is to say that both are dependent with regard to their security policies upon their respective "leading powers" (the United States and the USSR); indeed, they make this dependence a part of their image;

Added to these factors is this perception by GDR leaders: NATO and the FRG Armed Forces appear as aggressive and desirous of war (see above). Given such an image of the enemy, cooperation on the disarmament issue is inconceivable, especially since the GDR expounds the thesis that "imperialism" is not to be brought to arms limitation and disarmament through cooperation, but exclusively through adjustment to the "altered balance of power in favor of socialism and peace" (GDR formula).

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf Peter Alean, "Theses Relating to the Disarmament Question," IPW-BERICHTE, No 1, 1972, Vol 6, pp 32-42; here p 33.

2. Cf regarding the GDR's armament stance and the NVA a study published by the Study Group on Military Policy: "The National People's Army. An Anti-White Paper on the Military in the GDR," Hororo-Aktuell, Reinbek, 1976.
3. Reference is made to the instructive study by Stephan Tiedtke, "The Warsaw Treaty Organization. On the Relationship Between Military and Detente Policies in Eastern Europe," Munich/Vienna, 1978.
4. Regarding the Process of ideological criticism, see Werner Hofmann, "Basic Elements of the Economic Society," Hororo-Aktuell, Reinbek, 1969, pp 16-19 in particular.
5. According to the objective as described by GDR Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer in his speech before the General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, 5 June 1978, in New York, AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ (Ak), No 24, 1978, p 185.
6. "Who Is Forcing the Arms Race?", interview with Heinz Hoffmann, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND), 23 November 1977.
7. Frank Rupprecht, "Ideological Problems of the Struggle for Disarmament," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 26, Vol 11, pp 1341-1357; here p 1344.
8. Ibid.
9. Erich Honecker, 6 October 1978, on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 40, 1978, p 313.
10. For a profile of the aggressive NATO, cf Jochen Dankert and Wilhelm Erwil, "NATO and Basic Issues of International Politics," DEUTSCHE AUSSEN POLITIK (DAP), no 11, 1978, pp 73-88; Franz Bartach, "NATO's Aggressive Long-Range Program in Action," HORIZONT, No 34, 1978; or A. Charisius, "On NATO's Strategic Orientation," MILITAERWESEN, No 1, 1979, pp 24-32. In Willy Meinert's article "No Prospect for NATO's Policies," NEUES DERTSCHLAND, 6 April 1974, p 15, NATO appears as the "imperialist war pact" which "continues to be an instrument of the most aggressive forces in the world." The thesis of "NATO's stepped-up material preparation for war" is being increasingly expounded by GDR writers (though without evidence); for example: Guenther Siegmund, "Guns and Butter?" in HORIZONT, No 5, 1979, p 6.
11. Three GDR military men (Fuhrmann, Jakob and Kummer) expound upon this in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 February 1974, in an article entitled "The Acrobatics of Enemies of Detente. On the 1973-1974 FRG Government's Military White Paper." The Warsaw Pact's assertion of superiority is also found in "Armed Forces in the Class Struggle of Our Times (Series

on Policy and National Defense), Berlin (East), 1972, by Mueller and Oelschlaegel, including pp 44, 65, 66, 68. In addition to quantitative factors, the superiority thesis gives particular attention to the qualitative (training, morale); cf., for example, B.H. Hoffmann, "The Ninth SED Party Congress on Reliable Protection of the Socialist Worker and Peasant State and of Peace," speech delivered on 25 April 1977, Dietz Publishing House, Berlin (East), 1977. The superiority thesis has not been expounded in so many words since the Bonn declaration by Brezhnev and Schmidt on 6 May 1978 stating that no one was seeking military superiority (cf DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 6, 1978, p 649).

12. According to "Armed Forces in the Class Struggle..." (footnote 11), p 44.
13. Erich Honecker: "Our image of the enemy is absolutely correct. There is nothing about the image to be changed since the enemy itself has not changed." Speeches and Articles," Vol 1, Berlin (East), 1975, p 439. Cf the study by Heidrun Rodejohann-Recke, "Socialist Military Training in the GDR," in "The National People's Army..." (footnote 2), pp 100-133; in this case particularly the conclusions on p 132.
14. This became evident once again on the occasion of the revision of the GDR Defense Law. In this connection, cf the comments of Karl-W. Fricke, "GDR Defense Law Revised," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 11, 1978, Vol 12, pp 1238-1240.
15. Walter Moeller and Fritz Wilmar, "A Socialist Peace Policy for Europe. No Peace Without Social Reform in West and East," Rororo-Aktuell, Reinbek, 1972; here p 13.
16. Cf excerpts from Ceausescu's speech on the occasion of a meeting with workers at the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee in Bucharest, FRANKFUNKER RUNDSCHAU, 30 November 1975, p 14.
17. "Armed Forces in the Class Struggle..." (footnote 11), p 6.
18. Ibid.
19. According to Claes Einhorn, "The Burden of the Arms Race. On Certain Political, Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament," DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK, No 22, 1977, Vol 2, pp 33-48; here p 42.
20. Footnote 7, p 1340.
21. Ibid.
22. Cf Ulrich Albrecht, "Levels of Analysis and Research Tasks in the Study of the Political-Economic Functions of Armament, Using the Example of

Labor Market and Structural Policies," "Peace and Conflict Research Annual," Vol V, "Arms and the Military in the Federal Republic of Germany," Opladen, 1977, pp 28-41; here p 36 in particular, where Albrecht says: "It would be advisable simply to drop this empty phrase (meaning the military-industrial complex -- Wilhelm Bürkner) and all attempts to verify its attributes in the real life of the Federal Republic."

23. According to Hildegard Kiermeier, general secretary of the GDR UNESCO Commission and director of the UNESCO Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "UNESCO Is No Ivory Tower," HORIZONT, No 49, 1973, pp 24 f, here p 24.

Cf also the GDR Institute for International Policy and Economics (publisher), "Documents on Disarmament, 1917-1976," edited and introduced by Peter Klein, Berlin (East), 1978; here pp 20-22.

24. "Small Political Dictionary," Berlin (East), 1973, p 466. At this time there will be no discussion of the admissibility of the Marxist-Leninist differentiation between "just" and "unjust" wars in the nuclear age.

25. The GDR personalizes the problem by always referring to a "Clique in Peking" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 March 1979, p 6). The SED organ, UZ, 2 March 1979, p 2, disputes the fact that this was a confrontation between communists. Rather, it was said that the example of Peking policies showed "where anticomunism and fanatical hostility toward the Soviet Union" by the "Peking traitors to socialism" was leading. It is Axen's view that China has "lost its socialist character in its rebuilding process" (Hermann Axen, "Problems of the International Situation and the SED's International Relations," Berlin (East), 1974, p 49).

26. When the UN called for a report on peace research from its member states, Romania was the only communist state of the Warsaw Pact to submit a report. This shows that the GDR does not promote peace research (UN Document A/1099, 27 September 1975, "Scientific Work on Peace Research").

27. Authors' Collective (publisher), "Peaceful Coexistence in Europe. Development Trends in the Confrontation Between Socialism and Imperialism," Berlin (East), 1977; here p 210 f.

28. Engelhardt is also the expert delegated by the GDR to the UN committee which deals with "disarmament and development."

29. Rupprecht (footnote 7), p 1345.

30. Ibid.

31. According to Frank J. Herrmann, "Stumbled Over Its Own Feet," HORIZONT, No 7, 1978, p 3.
32. Cf Tiedtke on this point (footnote 3).
33. This is derived from international sources such as the SIPRI [Stockholm Peace Research Institute] annuals on disarmament, "Military Balance" (London) and "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1967-1976" of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), 1978. Superiority in the strategic as well as the medium-range and conventional sectors is even becoming a GDR doctrine (cf Tiedtke, footnote 3). The GDR considers NATO thoughts on eliminating and equalizing disparities in the armament sector to be illegitimate, terming them "material preparation for war" (Guenther Siemund, "Guns and Butter?" in HORIZONT, No 5, 1979, p 6).
34. This is the assessment of the FRG Government in its response to the two major interpellations of the SPD/FDP and the CDU/CSU, Bundestag document 8/2587, 16 February 1979; here pp 12-14 in particular.
35. GDR Defense Minister Hoffmann, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 February 1979, p 3. Cf also A. Pessl and W. Schlegel, "NATO on War Course. Chief Features of Military Policy Development Within the Pact," MILITAERWESEN, No 11, 1978, pp 11-17.
36. Hans Schumann, "The Only Sensible Alternative: Disarmament," HORIZONT, No 6, 1978, p 3.
37. Cf the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG report on the international conference of communist parties on theory, at which Soviet Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Ponomaryov for the first time in public used the role of China to substantiate the call for stepped-up armament activities on the part of the Warsaw Pact; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 13 December 1978, p 4.
38. According to Hoffmann (footnote 35).
39. Klaus Engelhardt, "The Struggle of the Nations for Peace and Disarmament," EINHEIT, No 2, 1979, pp 130-137; here p 134.
40. According to Politburo member and SED Central Committee Secretary Joachim Herrmann at a session of the National Council of the National Front on 5 March 1979 in Berlin (AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 11, 1979, p 84). Cf also Fritz Streletz, "Socialist National Defense and the Detente Process," HORIZONT, No 10, 1979, p 8f, or the report on the ninth SED Central Committee Plenum (AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 50/51, 1978, p 395). Honecker said: "Peace and security depend in decisive measure upon the strength of socialism" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 October 1978).

41. Herbert Kroeger, "Peace Precept and National Defense in International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 2, 1979, pp 17-26; here p 21.
42. Loc cit p 22.
43. Brezhnev in an interview with the American news magazine TIME (text, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 January 1979, p 6).
44. According to Heinz Hoffmann, "Socialist National Defense," from "Speeches and Articles," 1963 to February 1970, Part I, Berlin (East), 1971, p 378.
45. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 38, 1978, p 300.
46. GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, no 42, 21 December 1978, p 463.
47. Cf, for example, B.W.T. Lee, "The Estimation of Soviet Defense Expenditures, 1955-1975," New York, 1977; or Paul Cockle, "Analysing Soviet Defence Spending: The Debate in Perspective," SURVIVAL, September/October, 1978; here p 212 f in particular. For a critique of these three methods: Dieter Lutz, "Does the Soviet Union Possess Superiority in Conventional Armaments? -- A Comparative Analysis of Research Reports of the University of Hamburg Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy," Vol 9, 1979; here pp 5-24 in particular.
48. Cf also Tiedtke (footnote 2), particularly p 149 f.
49. Karl-Wilhelm Fricke, "The GDR Defense Budget," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, Vol 2, No 10, 1977, pp 160-168; here p 167.
50. ACDA, Washington, 1978, p 44.
51. Klein (footnote 1), p 37.
52. Cf the soon to be published dissertation of Rita Hajdu-Gabriel on the change in the Soviet disarmament concept (the study is sponsored by Prof Ulrich Albrecht, Berlin Free University).
53. Working Association for International Law, GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Institute for International Relations (publisher), "International Law," Part II, Berlin (East), 1973; here p 270.
54. Peter Florin, "UN Special Session Calls for Disarmament," EINHEIT, No 9, 1978, pp 907-913; here p 912. In the "so-called measures designed to build trust" Florin saw merely an attempt by "imperialist states" to "pretend a readiness for disarmament" and to divert attention "from their arms buildup policy."

55. Brezhnev's speech was published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3/4 March 1979, p 3 f.

56. Honecker in his concluding remarks to the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum, 13/14 December 1978, in East Berlin, AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 50/51, 1978, p 400.

57. Cf also Franz Bartsch, "For Peace, Security and mutually Advantageous Cooperation in Europe," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 7, 1978, pp 5-14; here p 12.

58. Honecker in his New Year's address, 1978/79 (AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 1, 1979, p 3). Similarly, UZ, 5 January 1979, p 3, "Why Does the USSR Not Start To Disarm?"

59. J. Herder on 26 April 1977 to the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, AUSSEN-POLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, No 18, 1977, p 142.

60. "Documents on Disarmament," 1963, p 538, R. Siegler (publisher); "Documents on Disarmament and Security," Vol II, 1963, p 385. Cf Wilhelm Bruns on the problem of control and verification, "Disarmament: A Search for Concrete Steps," VEREINTE NATIONEN (Bonn), No 2, 1978, pp 37-44; here p 39 f in particular.

61. Ulrich Albrecht, "On the Military in the GDR. In Lieu of an Introduction"; "The National People's Army..." (footnote 2), pp 7-20; here p 11.

62. SAARBRÜCKER ZEITUNG, 6 July 1978; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 July 1978; DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 8, 1978, p 881 ff.

63. Georg Reiss, "Germany's Legal Status After the Basic Treaty of 21 December 1972," Max Planck Institute for Pure, Law and International Law, Vol 71, Berlin/Heidelberg/New York. Following a thorough evaluation of Article 5 of the Basic Treaty, Reiss says: "For lack of precise legal agreements, the Basic Treaty cannot be described as a Disarmament and arms control treaty" (p 334).

64. Cf footnote 2) ("Documents on Disarmament..."); my review in DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, No 2, 1979, pp 196-200.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SIGNIFICANCE OF DEFENSE COUNSEL underscored

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 154, 10 Oct 79 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Impeding Defense in Criminal Proceedings." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal NEUE JUSTIZ has spoken out against the more or less open impeding of the defense in criminal proceedings before GDR courts. Judges, prosecuting attorneys and examining magistrates have frequently regarded the trial rights of the defense counsel only as the rights of a lawyer. In reality, however, each right due defense counsel is a right due the citizen. If a lawyer fails to make use of this right or it is not made available to him, a citizen's right is limited. Any unjustified "writ" and any laxity in exercising granted rights are violations of the rights of a citizen. Nor is it indicative o' a lack of trust in the socialist court if an accused entrusts a lawyer with his defense. The defense counsel, continues the journal, is just as necessary for conducting the criminal proceeding as the prosecuting attorney. It is thus also a matter of course that the conduct of a defense counsel cannot be subject to the disciplinary judgment of a judge. At the same time, the defense counsel has to avoid anything not compatible with the position of the attorney as an organ of the administration of justice. If sometimes only a narrow path remains between commandment and prohibition, the defense counsel must proceed as surely as though it were a wide street.

Role of Defense Counsel

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep 79 pp 400-402

[Article by attorney Friedrich Wolff, member of Lawyers' Council,Berlin: "Status, Functions, and Responsibilities of the Defense Counsel in Criminal Proceedings"]

[Text] The status, function and responsibility of the defense counsel in criminal proceedings of the GDR are derived from the essence and goal of the criminal trial in socialist society. In particular, it follows the basic requirement formulated in Article 1, Paragraph 1, of the StPO [Code of Criminal Proceedings] "that every guilty person but no innocent one is brought to justice." In this determination the entire dialectic of the criminal trial is expressed, the conflict between accusation and defense, from which, in the end, is derived the social necessity and justification of defense: the protection of the less guilty from inappropriate penalties. This protection corresponds to the interests of the citizen as much as it does to the basic principles of the socialist state which make the person the center of its action. The constitution itself guarantees, in Article 102, Paragraph 2, each citizen the right to defense and thus elevates this right to the rank of a fundamental right.

An important component of the right to defense is the right to make use of defense counsel (see Paragraphs 15, 16, 61ff of the StPO). The function of the defense counsel is thus no less than to help realize a constitutional fundamental right of the citizen.

Not seldom a lawyer and also judges, prosecuting attorneys and examining magistrates view the trial rights of the defense counsel as rights of the lawyer. But in reality each right due the defense counsel is a right of the citizen, a component of his right to defense. If a lawyer fails to make use of a defense right or is not allowed to make use of it, the fundamental right granted to the citizen is thereby impaired.

Each right given to the defense counsel carries with it the obligation to make use of this right if the case requires it. Thus the defense counsel is, for example, both entitled and obligated to have access to documents and to talk with the jailed accused. Every unjustified "writ" and any laxity in exercising granted rights are thus violations of the rights of a citizen.

On the Necessity of Defense by a Lawyer

Sometimes citizens ask if defense counsels are really needed under socialist conditions because they correctly assume that the StPO obligates each examining magistrate, prosecuting attorney and judge to establish not only the incriminating but also the exonerating circumstances. Many even believe that it would be a sign of a lack of trust in a socialist court to entrust a lawyer with their defense.

When the first socialist state on earth was established by the Great Socialist October Revolution, it destroyed the bourgeois system of lawyers as well as the bourgeois court and the bourgeois prosecuting attorneys. As early as 1917 Decree No 1 on the Justice System established that all persons of good reputation of either sex could be admitted to the prosecution or

defense before a court. On 7 March 1918 Decree No 2 on the Justice System established among the Soviets councils "which devote themselves to the protection of right both in the form of public accusation and also public defense." By the end of 1918 the function of the defense was regarded as a form of state service. Members of the council received the same pay as the people's judges. A decree of 21 October 1920 established that courts could enlist as defense counsels suitable citizens registered in the executive committee lists of the rayons, cities and districts. Only in 1922 was the foundation for the present Soviet legal profession laid with the statute on lawyers. V. Sinaivskiy, a member of the Moscow Lawyers' Council since 1922, wrote in SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA No 21/67 about that period: "The institute of the defense counsel needed a defense counsel itself" and "the lawyers were given an extremely difficult task, namely to prove that the profession of attorney under conditions of Soviet reality did not conceal anything evil in it but rather was a necessary profession. And to this end it was first of all necessary to conduct a battle against those who still represented the views and habits of the bourgeois attorney who regarded himself as the obedient executor of his client's will." This quotation should prove how the experiences of the USSR have spared us errors and long detours in this area as well. But since the principle applies that one must earn an inheritance in order to possess it, we consequently cannot simply regard the question of the necessity of the defense counsel as having been historically answered and filed away but must rather ourselves answer convincingly.

It is noticeable in this connection that no one has raised the question of why there is an examining magistrate in addition to the judge and the prosecuting attorney. Here also in the final analysis, all have only the task of establishing the truth. The necessity of the defense comes in fact from the same circumstances that, in the course of the historical development of the criminal trial, have effected the separation of the functions of the judge, prosecuting attorney and examining magistrate. It is a result of the bourgeois revolution and displaced the inquisition trial which corresponded to feudal conditions and in which the judge acted alone, that is, without the police and prosecuting attorney. There was, however, a defendant even though his rights were very limited.

The separation of the functions of investigation, accusation and verdict is justice to the fact that it is psychologically difficult for a single person to do justice to all viewpoints that must be considered to establish the objective truth. This applies in particular to the incompatibility of the function of defense with any other function of the trial process. One must choose between incriminating and exonerating. The criminal investigator makes a decision in the final report, the prosecuting attorney in the indictment, the judge in the verdict. Only the defendant is exempted from a decision. With the assumption of the brief, he is legally obligated to help and only to help his client. Since the supplanting of the inquisition trial by the bourgeois revolution, this is a democratic achievement which has achieved its full flowering only under socialism.

The defender is also, in my view, an organ of the administration of justice. This follows from the social significance of the defense. As the appointed or chosen defender, he is responsible for the accomplishment of the criminal trial process just as much as the prosecuting attorney. The defense counsel assumes a partial function of the trial process which likewise serves to achieve the goal of the criminal trial in the GDR. If the People's Police, prosecuting attorney and court are organs of administration of justice but the defense counsel not counted among these organs, then perceptible distinctions have been created which must be understood as qualitative differences.

Here, however, the individual defender or attorney is an organ of the administration of justice rather than attorneys as a group. In criminal proceedings the one acting is not the entire body of attorneys but rather the chosen or appointed defender who alone bears the responsibility for his actions or negligence. Moreover, the attorneys of the GDR are not an organizational unity and thus cannot be an organ.

The circumstance that the lawyer is not a state functionary is not relevant. Conflict and arbitration commissions are also organs of the administration of justice although they have no official status. Nevertheless, calling the individual defender or attorney a public organ of administration of justice is still unusual. But it still seems necessary in order to emphasize the fact that the defense (or any activity by an attorney) is neither a private nor an official function in socialist society.

In the Status of the Defender in the Criminal Proceeding

The partial function that the defender has to accomplish in the criminal proceeding is legally and clearly defined in Paragraph 16 of the StPO. According to this the defender is tasked exclusively with presenting everything that is likely to exonerate the defendant.

The exclusive restriction to the exoneration of the defendant distinguishes the defender from all other organs participating in the proceeding. The exoneration is the decisive criterion. A defense that only defends would destroy itself. This exclusivity of the exoneration function becomes understandable, however, only when it is ordered in the cooperation of all organs of the process. Cooperation toward the single goal of the process occurs objectively also and perhaps precisely when the views of the prosecuting attorney and the defender are diametrically opposed. But it is also precisely at this moment necessary that the unity of the - al, despite the difference in function, is known to all, that is, to the defense, the prosecuting attorney and judge and, if possible, to the public as well.

The legally established, also in Paragraph 16 of the StPO, independence of the defender from the other trial participants is also of predominant significance for the position of the defender in the process. Whereas the logical responsibility of state organs of the trial process in regard to

their assigned tasks was established in the StPO of 2 October 1952, the responsibility of the defender is now also precisely regulated. The dialectic of the criminal trial has thus been considered in a logical democratic fashion. No criminal process organ is authorized to interfere in the competence of another. Thus it is evident to us that the behavior of a defender cannot be subject to the disciplinary judgement of a judge.

In the defense within the framework of his brief, the attorney must also be independent of his client. This independence is also a prerequisite for the accomplishment of his tasks. Many citizens have the opinion that the more the attorney identifies with them, the better he defends them. If this were so, then a lawyer would be his best defender in his own case. But this, as experience shows, is not so. The defense must combine critical reserve with personal involvement in such a way that his eagerness does not blind him to the facts determining the verdict. The defender who completely identifies or is identified by the court with the defendant objectively suffers a significant loss of his ability to influence events. The concept of a defender as an "independent trial subject" has more weight than that of a defender in the "bound by instruction" employment status.

In the end, the position of the defender as a social organ of the administration of justice has the result that he pursues the same goal as the other organs of the administration of justice, that he logically proceeds from the same social positions as they. The defender is, just like the judge and prosecuting attorney, a conscious citizen of the workers' and peasants' state.

Defense in a socialist state is always defense from the position of real socialism. The political-ideological bond with the workers' and peasants' state is absolutely a prerequisite for effectiveness of the defense. This distinguishes defense in socialist society fundamentally from defense in capitalist society. There the defender has to accuse the society that causes the crime or calls the struggle for social progress a crime. In this case social progress has to be protected from attacks by the reaction.

There are no Liebknechts, Dimitroffs or "Wilmington 10," all incomparably superior in moral behavior and recognition of social reality to their accusers and judges, before socialist courts. With the removal of antagonistic classes, with the profound reshaping of society came not only a quantitative reduction but also a qualitative change in criminality. In particular, the criminalization of the political struggle of the working class against the imperialist state was removed. Organized crime that threatens to poison the entire social fabric in leading capitalistic states such as the United States has also been rooted out. In our own country, by contrast, the criminals are mostly petty offenders, persons led or gone astray. They are not so much at war with society as in need of help from it.

The socialist criminal trial of the GDR differs from the capitalist not only in socialist criminal law, the personalities of its judges, prosecutors and defenders but also in the character of the accused. It is thus in principle quite different when progressive attorneys in the BRD perceive the position of the attorney as an organ of bourgeoisie administration of justice to be a restraint and when they are of the opinion that the progressive accused can be effectively defended before the court only by a defender of the same persuasion. There the struggle of the working class continues before the court as well and with it the struggle of the allied classes and strata for their liberation. In our country socialism has won. Unequal things cannot be compared.

The profession of the defender requires a high degree of ability to maintain principles as the wishes and demands of the client do not harmonize with the law and the professional obligation of the defender. But he must be a brave critic while still retaining the ability for self-criticism and modesty. He must lose a case and retain his belief in justice, he must be ready to fight without seeking a fight, he must have experience but avoid routine.

Openness of the Main Trial and Role of the Defender

The openness of the main trial and thus the openness of the professional activity of the defender places a great responsibility on the latter. This [openness] is also, in association with the significance of the criminal process for society, worthy of note for the interaction between personality and profession. The openness of the main trial increases the sphere of action of the defender sometimes far beyond the number actually involved. The effect is to at least increase the responsibility of the defender to the same degree. A criminal proceeding is something ordinary only to legal personnel. The citizen may be witness to a criminal case only once in his lifetime. But this single event can determine his perception of the socialist criminal trial and the role of the defender in this trial.

The defender and all others participating in the process must keep this in mind since the onlookers often occupy responsible positions in enterprises or public organizations, are able to form their own opinion about the quality of the process and its participants and spread [this opinion]. Here seeming superficialities also play a role. This starts with coming and going, from which conclusions are drawn about the defender's interest in the case, and continues through all areas of the way the trial is conducted. It applies in particular to the content of the activity itself. If the goals of the criminal process are also the goals of the defender, then education and prevention must also be considered as important. The defender's contribution to achieving these goals does not contradict his function of exoneration. It must thus also be made clear to the onlookers, for example, that they must not consider an accused person in the case of a serious crime as guilty from the start and why this must be so. It must also be made clear that socialist criminal law is humanistic criminal law and that also those — and particularly those — who have committed a

serious crime must have the help of a defender who must also do everything possible to see that the punishment does not exceed the just level. A bored attitude toward the public in the court is foreign to the nature of the socialist criminal process and must also be [foreign] to the defender. He must also know that the openness of the main trial is not merely a matter of form.

On the other hand, defense under socialism is not a show. It does not serve to establish objective truth and socialist legality if factual arguments are replaced by histrionics and, sometimes, personal motives supersede the goals of the criminal process.

The Defender's Responsibility to Society

The more the significance of the function of the defender is emphasized and acknowledged, the more is his degree of responsibility to be emphasized. The attorney has this responsibility to society because he is an organ of the administration of justice, to the client to whom his obligation comes from civil law, to witnesses and other participants from his actions during the trial and to the lawyers' council from his membership.

The responsibility of the defender to society is foremost responsibility for the realization of the constitutional right of the citizen to defense, for the exploitation of all trial rights of the defense. At the same time the defender has to avoid everything not compatible with the position of the attorney as an organ of the administration of justice. Sometimes only a narrow path remains between commandment and prohibition. But the defender must follow it as surely as though it were a wide street.

But the defender's responsibility to society is not restricted to the defense as such. The attorney is moreover responsible for placing his intelligence, his knowledge and skills about defense in the individual case at the disposal of society. There are thus great possibilities for the defender in the area of propaganda and education in the law. The organs of justice and public organizations should make greater use of the willingness of defenders to assist in public work.

The defender also bears responsibility for the further development of socialist law. The special views of the defender, his closeness to the accused and the like make of him an expert on questions concerning crime prevention. His experiences should, in the interests of society, not go unused. If not asked, he should volunteer on his own initiative.

The responsibility of the defender to society coincides in part with his responsibility to his client. But the client is often not as considerate and prudent as society. The client who yesterday described his attorney as the greatest is often convinced the next day that the attorney is really worthless. It is thus more complicated to do justice to the client

than to society. It is not always sufficient for the defender to do the right thing. He must convince his client of this. Many complaints result from failing to explain this on a timely basis.

Finally, the defender also bears a responsibility to other defendants, witnesses, experts and sometimes also to the public. His function often forces him to attack these participants. In this case he may not go too far as otherwise he will not do justice to his responsibility.

The responsibility of the defender is thus many-sided and it is not always easy to completely meet it. We can nevertheless state with pride that never before in Germany has a class of attorneys did so much to meet its responsibilities as that in the GDR. This applies to its bond with the working class and all workers as well as to its sense of justice and the maintenance of its professional obligation, in short, its purity. The latter is also an expression of the clever legal policy of the party of the working class to which we, as members of the councils, owe special thanks.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RENEWED INTEREST SHOWN IN PRUSSIAN HISTORY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 120, 6 Aug 79 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Historian Announces Biography of Frederick the Great." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG interview, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] A biography of Frederick the Great is most likely going to appear still this year in the GDR. As its author, East Berlin historian Ingrid Mittenzwei of the GDR Academy of Sciences, announced, she sees Frederick II as "an extremely contradictory historic figure" [East Berlin SONNTAG, 5 Aug 79]. By conquering Silesia he had started the aggressive foreign policy of the Prussian state. In his domestic policy he had banked on limited reforms which could be explained, as much as his attitude toward the French Enlightenment, from the transitional character of his times, to which he had reacted, "as a highly sensitive representative of his class," by a policy of adaptation. As the historian further explained, her Frederick biography is part of the efforts of GDR historiography now also to work over Prussian history, and that in deliberate contrast to her FRG colleagues, and to reclaim that history as a GDR "legacy."

Interview With Frederick-the-Great Biographer

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 33 No 31, 5 Aug 79 p 3

[Interview by Werner Mueller-Claud with Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, director, department of German history from 1648 to 1789, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Interview With Historian Ingrid Mittenzwei. Prussia: Discoveries and Legends." A translation of a West German analysis of "Prussia and German History," an earlier East Berlin EINHEIT article by Mittenzwei, written in collaboration with Professors Horst Bartel and Walter Schmidt, is published under the heading, "SED Pursuit of 'Positive Prussian Traditions' Analyzed," in JPRS 73990, 10 Aug 79, No 1706 of this series, pp 11-13]

[Text] [Question] The historians are talking about Prussia. You have the impression they are having more to say about this than before, in our republic as well as in the FRG, even if, understandably, with different points of application and valuations. What are the reasons for this stronger concern with Prussian history?

[Answer] One reason is a reason of principle: A great deal of German history has been tied up with Prussian history over long periods. We cannot study German history without working up Prussian history too. Prussian history touches on our interests and the interests of the FRG too. And here we should principally refer to those attempts by historians and politicians in the state of Bonn that seek to keep open, with Prussia in the background, the "national question." That challenges our response.

And then, a large part of the GDR is located on a territory that was long under Prussia. Prussia was part of the legacy with which we had to come to grips, and after 1945 also in material terms, when we expropriated the junkers and large estate owners, whereby a phenomenon as reactionary Prussianism was deprived of a social base. When you are in a territory, like the GDR, where testimonials of stone, castles and gardens remind of Prussia, and where still many half-truths about Prussia are likely to be circulating, the citizens are coming up with questions that have to do with the characteristics, personalities and high points of Prussian history.

In the FRG a number of historians and politicians are currently trying to make use of Prussian history, the Prussian spirit and, above all, the so-called Prussian virtues to lend legitimacy to their present political claims and goals. I have already pointed out their attempts at keeping the "national question" open by resorting to Prussian history. Yet Marx and Engels already, and Mehring in particular, made evident that the Prussian policy in the 18th century was not national but dynastic policy. By the way, even bourgeois historians of the 19th century and journalists like Engelmann and Augstein reached similar conclusions.

Furthermore, our discussions of the concept of legacy have made clearly evident that after having mainly concentrated thus far on the revolutionary traditions of the workers class and on the humanistic tradition, we must also concern ourselves more with the history of the exploiter class.

[Question] I imagine this priority concern with the revolutionary traditions was in the interest of consolidating our achievements.

[Answer] So it was. It was absolutely necessary because the GDR is based on that revolutionary heritage. But it turned out to be necessary also for the development of our science discipline. Bourgeois historiography, after all, was not interested in elaborating those traditions. That was our own business. But then one also has to inquire into the contribution certain representatives of the ruling class have made toward enforcing social progress. Except for its function in the early phases of society formation, the ruling class never was an integrated bloc. There always was much diversification.

[Question] "Prussian heritage" is not just territory and the idea of a typically militaristic and dynastic policy. You already touched on the "virtues" they are making reference to, especially in the West, though many of our more senior citizens may nurture them too in the back of their minds. They are surviving in the bourgeois schools. I am reminded here, among other things, of the painstaking orderliness in the offices, the incorruptibility of the officials, the strict education and so forth. At Sadowa, the saying goes, the victory went to the Prussian school masters.

[Answer] You are asking a very complicated question there for which I have no final answer as yet. Only this much: In the FRG at present they are indeed making a great deal of the "Prussian virtues." I am explaining this to myself, among other things, as a reflex to the students movement of the late 1960's. An FRG historian (Oestreich) in connection with absolutism once coined the term "social disciplining." The social disciplining of the masses, he said, had been an achievement of absolutism, including the Prussian. Could it not be that behind the appeal to "Prussian virtues" there may be the desire for "socially disciplining" the masses in the FRG? The thing has gone so far that certain characteristics of the workers class and the workers movement under Bebel, mainly discipline and diligence, are being restyled into "Prussian virtues." I am of the opinion the discipline of the German workers class cannot be attributed to Prussia. It was the outcome of the class struggle and big industry. Granted, when Prussia flourished, the workers class needed a special load of discipline to stand up against a disciplined adversary and state despotism. Only recall Bismarck's antisocialist laws.

[Question] If I understand it correctly, many bourgeois historians and journalists go far beyond specific virtues when resorting to Prussian testimony. Prussian order appears to them also as the outrider in the manipulation of government power, their kind of "democracy," justice and so forth.

[Answer] Here the best we can do is to cite a prominent FRG historian, Professor Goerlitz. He took a stand on the proposal by West Berlin's mayor Stobbe to hold a Prussia exhibition in West Berlin in 1981. And this is what he said: "During the protest waves of the revolutionists in the late 1960's we also heard the battle-cry: 'Swap civil servants' honors for higher salary.' Political methods change fast. Today the memory of Prussian virtues, which by no means were just the privilege of the monarchy, has a surprisingly great resonance. They fit in well indeed with a strong democracy, with a self-assured constitutional state." As we see, the attempt is being made there to establish some continuity between the Prussian state system, the "Prussian constitutional state," and today's state of Bonn. In Prussia, in the view of many FRG historians, there had been a "constitutional state" since the Prussian provincial law of the late 19th century, and the FRG is to succeed to it.

[Question] But is it not a fact that the "Prussian order" did put some things "in order" in some areas?

[Answer] Quite so. Yet you have to look at the historic circumstances. The "virtues" have their material cause. The 18th century Prussia did in fact have more "order" in its state than there was in some feudal absolutistic countries where the courts indulged in wastefulness. Prussia had the soundest reasons for a relatively thrifty use of means. The country was extremely poor in the 17th and 18th centuries. And its rulers were engaged in an active foreign policy. And that was also why Prussia, in terms of population, though not in absolute terms, had the largest army in Europe. Two-thirds of the government budget were spent for the army since Frederick William I. And it remained that way for the remainder of the century. So you could of necessity engage in no waste in other areas. Thrift was a matter of survival. This constellation also called for an extremely rigid structure of the government apparatus, and that in turn produced an appropriate civil service. Since Frederick William I and, more pronounced, under Frederick II, the government apparatus came under strict controls from the top. This does, of course, not exclude cases of corruption for Prussia either. Only they were rarer there than in other comparable states.

[Question] The normal case in the transition from one form of society to another is the struggle of the rising class against the ruling class that ought to quit the scene of history but does not want to surrender its power positions. In Prussia there was already before the decision was made--in contrast to France, for example--a strange alliance, some sort of cronyism, between the rising and the ruling class. Why was that?

[Answer] Such an alliance is not so rare at all. It happened in other countries too, for instance in England. The reasons for such an alliance differed of course from country to country. As far as Prussia is concerned, this linking of interests has to do with the special role played by the feudal nobility in the government and the economy and with the development of the Prussian bourgeoisie over a long period of history. Up to the French Revolution, the Prussian bourgeoisie--as also that in some other European countries--had an extremely weak economic base. Also the process of class formation under the prevailing conditions--I remind you of the separation of all the territorial states--went extremely slowly. When the revolution was ripening in France and the bourgeoisie there was struggling for power, the German manufacturing bourgeoisie, including the Prussian, was not yet mature enough for such struggles. That has something to do with the fact that the transformation process in Prussia was initiated by reforms from the top. There was of course a social base for these reforms, for otherwise they could not have been undertaken. But the bourgeoisie was then not yet in the position to pose the power question from below and solve it the French way. The revolutionary process went through various phases in Prussia. When the bourgeoisie had become strong enough economically and politically, its antipode, the workers class, also appeared on the battleground of history. It made its own independent showing already, as one knows, in the 1848 Revolution. The aristocracy also went through a transformation process. The feudal estate owners started to work with capitalist methods. Though this process was not finished by 1848, it greatly helped establish the alliance with the bourgeoisie. All this, and ultimately also their being afraid of the workers class, led to the betrayal of the bourgeoisie.

[Question] This dovetailing between bourgeoisie and Junkerism must have had consequences for the future. Is that not so?

[Answer] Certainly. The community of interests between the Prussian bourgeoisie and Junkerism lasted till the 20th century. It affected the solution of the national question in 1870/1871 and also shaped developments thereafter, especially the expansionism of German imperialism.

[Question] The Prussian reformers and progressive military leaders are not subject of our talk today as our historiography has paid tribute to them much earlier. You remarked that we are now turning more to the ruling class and its representatives. I would imagine, also to those who are controversial. We are guarding a great legacy of Frederick II in Potsdam. Are we going to get discriminating information about him?

[Answer] I have written a biography about him which is most likely to be published still this year by the Verlag der Wissenschaften. Briefly to describe the personality of Frederick II at this point is hardly possible because we are dealing here with an extremely contradictory historic figure. Only this much: With the conquest of Silesia, which brought suffering and misery to the masses, he initiated the aggressive foreign policy of the Prussian state. Domestically he banked on limited reforms which never crossed the framework of the existing order, however, but rather were meant to stabilize it. The reforms can be explained, as much as his attitude toward the French Enlightenment, Voltaire for example, by the transitional character of his times, to which he reacted as a highly sensitive representative of his class by a policy of adaptation.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POPULAR SONGS FOUND DEVOID OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 160, 19 Oct 79 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "'Nonsocialist' Content of GDR Hit Tunes." A translation of the East Berlin FORUM article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin FDJ organ FORUM has found nonsocialist ideas in many hit tunes produced in the GDR. A considerable number of GDR hit tunes remained "unequivocally below the high criteria and achievements of our society." Instead of the socialist ideology and the way of life appropriate to it, they were spreading "ideological-philosophical peculiarities." It included cliches in thought and language, poverty in expression and musical banality. Often they were propagating some "fatalistic optimism." That conformed with a propensity to unproductive and exclusive privacy, the stereotype of a love finding its fulfillment by retiring into oneself.

What was reflected by such hit tunes was the product of some thoughtlessness which all too often still equated entertainment simply with "turning off" from the ordinary. Such an idea of entertainment provided anything but the picture of personality, which to realize was the aim of socialist society. Generally speaking, what the East Berlin paper misses in most GDR hit tunes is a reference to social reality. Each hit tune producer should have to be asked where, for example, the text or music of such hit tunes would indicate anything about the degree to which woman has been emancipated, or where social reality would show at all in that mode of indulging one's "privacy." At the same time the paper admitted that such hit tunes had a following which "is not exactly small." Satisfying one's needs for such entertainment should however not mean trivializing them. The term entertainment was wholly misunderstood if instead of raising demands, demands were only served.

Socialist Standards for Entertainment

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 33 No 19, 1 Oct 79 pp 8-9

[Article by Peter Wicke: "Concerning the Art of Entertainment"]

[Text] It is hard to overrate the place value of entertainment in our life. More or less this strange phenomenon called "entertainment" everyone comes in contact with in the course of the day in one form or another. Music, TV programs in the evening or special "entertainment broadcasts," attending art or intellectual-cultural events and even social get-togethers offer entertainment. Even where one does not expect it at the first glance, when watching sport events on the screen or in the stadium, the entertainment value should not be underrated. In view of that, and especially because of the chances the media have, it is probably not mistaken to speak of entertainment as an enormous multiplier of social awareness. Thinking, while stimulated in a seemingly private manner (especially through the media) is nothing but the mirror-image of society at leisure. Thus it is socially produced awareness of society, awareness of the individual of his place in and with respect to society, however little it may itself conceive of it that way.

And that statement is reversible: An activity as predominant during leisure as entertainment emits decisive impulses affecting the relationship with society and the personality structure. Their formative value is so very high, not least because they are taken in quite privately, it seems, without any social obligations, after a well deserved quitting time, as enjoyable activity and approbation of one's ego. All the more urgent is the question about the substance of an activity that seems to result in nothing but pleasurable entertainment and yet affects so much else besides.

It is precariously one-sided to define entertainment as a reproduction of labor--an argument often still used--unless one thinks of working man in his totality, the totality of his personality. But then one should not have to stress just this one side, his capacity for work. Entertainment thus has to do with personality as a whole, with demands, ideas of happiness and images of desire. While proceeding from there, it has to do with the personality's social activity. And it is nurtured within society, by its objectives and its possibilities for and expectations of the individual. On what level now does the entertainment as practiced among us meet the high demands of our society?

What has been said here applies to entertainment all-around. If we, in seeking an answer, concentrate on the phenomenon of hit tune at this point, we are doing so because we think that entertainment as such is much too complex a phenomenon--and cannot even be confined to art entertainment--for dealing with it in a few lines. And vice versa, the hit tune itself cannot substitute for entertainment as such, but some questions that concern us can be discussed by talking about hit tunes, while its specifics of course have to be kept in mind.

Are Hit Tunes Static?

The hit tune surely is the preferred musical form in listening to music on the side and so commands concentrated attention only in the rarest cases. That has implications for its musical structure, where what one is familiar

with and knows well plays a great role. To fault a hit tune for it would be a mistake. And then, it also has a tradition of almost 100 years, which has turned it into a type that is optimally suitable, in its function as well as in its form of dissemination. We are thinking of its length here. Normally it takes a single side (or a 78-record of the past). Essentially, it has only changed in its fashion accessories such as the arrangement or the rhythmic formulas on which it is based, but not in its basic structure, the song scheme with an established length. And this continues to be so. About its content changes we shall say more below.

This, first of all, places rather narrow restrictions on the demands that can be made on the content of the hit song, on what within this relatively rigid form can substantively be coped with. If one then takes into account that the hit tune is indeed a genre of dance music and fulfills its primary function in a context in which the "love" topic plays a not exactly insignificant role, it becomes understandable why hit tunes so tenaciously fixate on that very set of themes. Must one therefore accept the hit tune as something static, and are there no demands to be made on it?

Fruits of Intensive Work

That conclusion would be totally wrong, and it also contradicts our practical situation. While many wishes remain still unfulfilled, the basic lines of our socialist cultural policy have also crystallized in the hit song. They form the basis of longtime systematic development work that has certainly borne some fruit. Let us recall Reinhard Lakomy, Angelika Mann, Veronika Fischer and Juergen Walter. And there are other things, here and there. There are songs by Schoebel, Doerck, Lacasa and recently also by Holger Biege. I would also include the pleasant endeavor at writing hit tunes for the youngest generation--imaginative, funny, happy and serious. Examples have come out here--unfortunately still too few--that are appropriate to us, our possibilities and our expectations. The fact that the hit tune is no art song does not prevent us from creating something of substance. Something original often can mean something familiar in a new light, it need not absolutely be something breathtakingly new. The point is being made here that though the hit tune's domain may rather be our ordinary daily life than big world policies, pleasant achievements can come from it.

It is not so long ago that a woman's desire for a child but not necessarily for a man, expressed in life or in a song, would have run into a considerable lack of understanding. Then there is someone who sings a song about living together in an old run-down house, which has its bitter sides of course, but otherstoo, displaying our kindness. There is a man courting a woman not mainly because of her beauty but because of her personality, and there is the woman looking for a loving comrade who could also become a father.

Equality, in other words, earthy and not hiding femininity or manhood, nor the attraction between the sexes, but which asks for in the hit song, and makes possible, the whole person of both sexes, not just the attractive one.

The romantic and love, in other words, not drawing into isolation but belonging to the richness of sentiment of people in our country. And this then done by humorous, poetical or linguistically beautiful lyrics.

A fine text virtually is an obligation to high musical quality. And so the best of our hit songs excel by having charming melodies that stay with you--which does not mean they are undemanding--and have arrangements that conform with the content and mood of melody and text. And finally there are interpreters who are making high demands on themselves and on their material, who confront their material and work seriously and responsibly. Our best hit songs no doubt already have a socialist quality to show for. That is seen by their topics and subjects but even more by their way at viewing, treating and describing things. We absolutely have to add to this that, in order to develop this quality, constantly nurturing and promoting and challenging a new generation of authors is indispensable.

The performance exhibit for entertainment art in Leipzig in 1979 has attested to our having something important in hand. That this or that interpreter often broke through the constraints of the hit song proper as the only means of expression points to at least one possibility for understanding and practicing a richer type of entertainment. Recipes there are none, however.

What We Are Not Satisfied With

Now it is so that what has been accomplished may never become a ground for self-satisfaction, and especially not as long as trivial and thoughtless hit songs are still no exceptions. Our attempt at articulating the proper direction the development of hit songs must take makes us more critical of inadequacies. Many hit songs produced very clearly lag behind the high criteria and achievements of our society. Let us be frank: the banal and thoughtless stuff that sometimes is still being dished out to us--with ponderously blown up music--would really call for sarcastic comments, were it no so that the background is most serious and our expectations needs must be very high.

Why do some of those products dissatisfy us? They often are--to speak in general terms--far from comprehending and practicing our view of the changeability of the world and commensurate actions taken by us, from our understanding of man as a social being and as a phenomenon that has grown under historic conditions and can be overcome. Our own world-outlook and vital sentiments are substituted for by ideological-philosophic peculiarities. That includes cliches in thought and language, poverty in expression and musical banality. And this calls for examples.

For instance, which intellectual demands are served by lines such as: "On and on our life is moving, on and on, today it's dreary, but tomorrow again cheery" (Hans-Juergen Beyer; lyrics by Dieter Schneider)? That is not only a miserable text, I also find in it fatalistic optimism, which one could further substantiate by reference to other hit songs. Not rarely, you

run into appeals suggesting indifference like "just do not take it so seriously" (Monika Herz; lyrics by Dieter Schneider). What do such passivity and petty bourgeois mode in our society, following the model of, say, be it happiness, be it sorrow, just wait a while, "after the rain comes sunshine again" (Muck; lyrics by Wolfgang Brandenstein). That goes together with a propensity for unproductive and exclusive privacy, the stereotype of a love finding its fulfillment by retiring into itself: "A day with you, say what could be nicer" (Monika Herz; lyrics by Dieter Schneider). Addressing a fictitious partner into whose place the listener may project himself and draw his quantum of "entertainment" from experiencing the partner's role in his mind produces a world of illusion--though what we have to offer is a powerful, contradictory and human world. The question we have to ask simply is this: Are all lyricists and producers always critical and self-critical in their work?

To Entertain. But How

One might object and say that inserting these texts infringes the specificity of the genre because a hit song simply is no art song but "only" entertainment, and a musical form of entertainment at that, and not intelligible by the lyrics only anyhow. Yet such an argument only betrays its source of thoughtlessness, because not that we have entertainment but by what we entertain ourselves and how we do it is what sets us apart from the bourgeois manufacture of dreams. And the attitudes we have been trying to nail down here with reference to the lyrics apply equally to the music. Let us recall the stuffed arrangements punctuated by voluptuous brass passages blowing up each and every triviality into pretentious gestures. What could be more fraudulent and unreal than the observation, supported with pathos, ardor, choral backing and big orchestra: "She is sweet and furthermore sells chocolate, and I buy from her each day and have already lots of chocolate" (Muck; lyrics by Wolfgang Brandenstein)? Or also that tenuous optimism which calls for dashy, march-like clap-along rhythms coating many hit songs with an icing of *joli de vivre*?

Our Measure: Social Reality

Such notions and attitudes are actually far remote from the ideas individuals have. I think what is being reflected in these hit songs that call for criticism is often the product of a thoughtlessness which all too often still equates entertainment simply with "turning off from the ordinary." In its final analysis it would come down to turning off the personality.

Such a notion of entertainment, however, conforms with anything but our image of personality, whose becoming real through a social mass process is the target and historic task of socialist society. And this precisely, the ideal of personality, the ideas of the values of personality, is the criterion against which the substantive demands for entertainment must be gaged. But that is only one side. The other side is social reality itself, that which our society already has achieved in bringing to realization this historically

novel image of personality. We are indeed much farther ahead than some productions would want to make us believe. And that is why we always have to ask ourselves again--and every hit song producer has to ask himself--what of our social reality is encountered, reflected, in our entertainment. Where, for example, can one find a text and music of a hit song indicating anything about the degree to which woman has been emancipated as it has become reality in socialism? Where does social reality show up altogether in that mode of indulging one's privacy? Where is the sense of life that represents our reality and has nothing in common with the cheap optimism found in so many hit songs?

Claim and Responsibility

Socialism places an enormous intellectual and practical demand on all who are engaged in art in and for socialism. The attitudes shown in this article as found in the musical entertainment field do not stand up to that demand, this much we should have to admit. That there are other attitudes too has been pointed out. But that makes little difference as long as the situation is as it is and especially while theyhave a following which is not exactly small. That the situation is as it is speaks neither for the attitudes we have been talking about nor against that following. It only points to the responsibility the entertainers have to bear, and with them all of us, for the needs that are being articulated for entertainment are legitimate. To live up to them does not mean banalizing them, however. I believe the term entertainment is thoroughly misunderstood if instead of raising demands here, demands are only served. Those very demands are what makesup this responsibility.

5885
CSO: 2300

PARTY EDUCATIONAL WORK EVALUATED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, 1979 pp 9-14

[Article by Gyula Mona, deputy head of department of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Building on the Lessons of Past Years"]

[Text] Fundamental changes in social consciousness, the unprecedented acceleration of the flow of information and the ever widening international ideological struggle may, in themselves, provide sufficient explanation for the kind of factors leading to a rising interest in theoretical matters. What we are dealing with is more than just a rise: interest in and appreciation of the many questions of social theory are no longer confined to small groups, but are a mass phenomenon in the ordinary sense of the word.

Cultural revolution has become a true revolutionary experience for our nation not merely because we became a nation of readers, a nation whose world has been permeated by theater, film, literature, the arts and music. The cultural monopoly of the ruling classes has been shattered. But something else has also happened: alongside this and as a result of this, the cultural revolution contributed to the blossoming of political consciousness and the emergence of a politicized nation. This created the foundations of the interest in theoretical and ideological matters which is constantly being rekindled by the successes of socialist construction, the collective sense of responsibility for the fate of society as a whole and the great unsolved questions of the world.

The rapid flow of information across countries and continents together with tourism which is becoming the "Great Migration" of our age turns the ideological class struggle, the increasingly universal characteristics of our age, into a tangible experience for the large masses. When people compare the answers given by socialism to other interpretations, their eyes open to the unbelievable wealth and internal order of Marxism-Leninism, its force of conviction, the interesting and attractive system of an ideology which throws light on social processes and phenomena and thereby enables us, in the final count, to understand the world. Thus, propagandists preparing for the next academic year must concentrate on the mass phenomenon of people interested in theoretical matters.

The summary of the 1978-79 academic year of party education shows that the participants in party education (both propagandists and students) are increasingly aware of the requirements of the age and are striving to satisfy them. This is the reason why we were able to make significant progress in implementing the 26 October 1976 resolution of the Central Committee.

In our work, increasing attention has been given to the unity of training and education; the spreading of dialectical and materialist historical worldview has become more purposeful. There has been an increasing effort toward using the latest research results in social sciences as well as the practical lessons of socialist construction in all areas of party propaganda. In other words, the effort centered on improving the content and quality of party education in the spirit of the Central Committee resolution.

The autonomy and initiative of basic party organizations in the organization and conceptual direction of education have increased. More attention than in the past has been paid to the selection, systematic preparation and organization of the activities of propagandists. A substantial role was played in this regard by national theoretical conferences devoted to the discussion of a single theoretical or political question; the proceedings of these conferences were published on a regular basis by the Kossuth Publishing House. An increasingly important role is being played in this area by our ideological and political questions requiring non-simplistic theoretical answers and by popularizing good practical lessons of propaganda work. At the same time, there has been a substantial effort to further modernize the list of topics, programs and syllabuses.

Thus, the fundamental trends in the development of propaganda work are the same as those stated in the 26 October resolution of the Central Committee; they are conducive to the realization of our social, political and economic goals. During the coming academic year we must build on the good experience up till now by adapting to the requirements of the day and continuing our efforts in every area.

Party education has an important role in shaping the outlook on matters of economics and economic policy in accordance with our social, political and economic goals. In addition to learning about concepts, categories and laws necessary for understanding the essential aspects of economic processes, we must present our economic development as a historical process which reflects changes in external and internal conditions; we must place the emphasis on the task of adapting to a constantly changing, dynamic world.

We must analyze our economic and policy goals and the possibilities and means of their realization on the various levels of party education in a differentiated manner. We try to provide an answer to new phenomena arising in the course of development using scientific principles. In doing this, we must reexamine our earlier views in many areas to arrive to new conclusions regarding our actions today and, especially, tomorrow.

For a long time, our propaganda supported the view that our interest lay in rapid economic growth; this has been the almost exclusive yardstick used to measure our progress. Today it has become clear that we are interested in economic growth of only those areas where domestic average costs do not exceed the international average of developed economies. Otherwise, economic growth only leads to increased losses in the international marketplace. Thus, our propaganda must throw light on the relationships between economic growth, production and management in order to show precisely what needs to be done to ensure that the world market gives favorable marks to our output.

Our fundamental economic policy goal is increased efficiency; this is the chief source of the restoration of our national economic balance, building the foundations of our future development and improving the living standards of the population. The task of propaganda is to point to ways of achieving improvements in economic efficiency and to conceptualize long-range and day-to-day concrete tasks. In doing this, it is necessary to carefully analyze the tasks associated with the transformation of the production structure and the requirements related to people, the most important factor of production and economic activity.

Nowadays there is a lot of talk about the uncovering of reserves, rational labor management, energy and raw material utilization, etc. These are indispensable preconditions for our development and such efforts must be helped by our propaganda work. The greatest reserves, however, are in human competence, understanding, behavior and action. Propaganda has an especially important role to play in this area, i.e., in uncovering subjective reserves. Party education provides an opportunity to help in knowing and grasping the direct levers which play such an important role in improving economic efficiency. Among the means in question are savings, standing up against waste, better production and labor organization, improved product quality, more careful, better organized and more disciplined work.

At the same time, one must discuss concrete relationships, local circumstances and possibilities where the objective need for rational action and the true interests of employees coincide; thus, the confluence of individual and common interest is represented as a true lever of economic activity. This provides a suitable ideological, political and material basis for autonomous, creative initiative on the part of workers, while at the same time leading toward widening socialist democracy.

An important task of the coming academic year of party education is the presentation of economic policy measures which serve their realization of our goals; we must help to make these measures understood and accepted. However, propaganda must rise above the day-to-day situation in order to throw light on relationships which help in a deeper understanding of these measures. We intend to discuss in more detail the role of the price system, the reasons for changing producer and consumer prices, the effects of these changes, the relationship between producer and consumer prices as well as the relationship between domestic and world market prices.

This is the spirit in which we are keeping the theory of socialist regeneration on the agenda, together with economic growth and the internal and external preconditions for it, the laws of socialist distribution and its practical manifestations. These questions are analyzed in connection with the practice of socialist construction and the development of the socialist economic system. Attention is focused on questions of economic action, production and rational consumption. In doing this, it is necessary to discuss concrete local tasks in each productive economic unit or other institution as they relate to the analysis of general questions of economics and economic policy.

We must make it clear that we are not giving up our policy goals with regard to living standards; we are merely modifying our timetable under significantly different conditions. The implementation of our policy is subject to priorities according to what is possible. All of this is accomplished in such a way that, in the end, improved living standards and the development of living conditions will better reflect the true performance of individuals, productive groups and our society as a whole. In this connection, our aim is to get across the view that our results should not be primarily compared to our earlier performance but to the value judgment of the world market and the most advanced performance.

Our economic policy initiatives and plans must be presented in their full complexity, i.e., both the production and marketing phase must receive equal emphasis. This means that we must present the new rules of wage and workforce management, the financial framework of economic activities and the new conditions for export and import activities as part of a single package.

There will certainly be a great deal of continuing interest in theoretical and practical questions related to the law of socialist distribution. Our principles must be represented in this area in a manner which is consistent with our goals and efforts and is closely related to concrete practice.

Propaganda can make a significant contribution toward making Marxist-Leninist historicity an organic part of public thought, going beyond the contents of textbooks and auxiliary materials, lectures and the introductory presentations of public debates. Without such a Marxist outlook on history, the past, the present and the future will be reduced to mere points of reference, historical lessons learned at the price of a great deal of suffering will be forgotten and our achievements may easily be devalued.

A long time ago, when the distortions of Marxism-Leninism were eliminated, our propaganda activities dropped the schematic worldview which approached every social question starting from the pattern of the damnable past, the splendid present and the wonderful future. This break has done a great deal of good for our propaganda work. It should be emphasized, however, that a historical worldview involves much more and something much deeper: it should not merely emphasize the emergence and disappearance of

neighboring peoples and nations was a depressing legacy of the past, destroying social reality and consciousness. Although the fate and even the historical tragedy of these peoples were closely related, recognition of their true common interests was prevented for a long time by divisions due to nationalism and chauvinism. However, conflict and hatred are not some kind of ancient national feature of the peoples inhabiting this part of the world. Reactionary feudal systems followed by semi-feudal capitalist systems preserved historical backwardness; this led to oppressed peoples becoming pawns in the struggle among imperialist powers. This was the reason behind nationalism and chauvinism.

Through learning and application of Marxist answers to the most pressing and most important practical questions, the masses are coming closer to understanding the essence of Marxism. However, this is not an automatic process. Understanding particular theses and constituent parts of Marxism does not necessarily lead to a Marxist outlook and way of thinking. This requires learning and assimilation of the deeper philosophical basis of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., dialectical and historical materialism. This assumes systematic and conscious philosophical education. To ensure that the truths learned in practical political life become a living worldview and develop into creative Marxist thinking, they must take a deeper philosophical root in the thinking of the masses.

A worldview is more than a kind of general knowledge: it is a system of views solidified into convictions. Of course, the strength of conviction can never decide, by itself, the correctness of someone's worldview; however, without the strength of conviction, no system of views, however systematic and scientifically based, can become a worldview. The unification of knowledge into views and systems of views implies more than mere contemplation and acceptance of reality. The views of people also express their personal attitudes toward particular phenomena: holding a view implies taking a stand. Conviction, however, means a direction adopted by the personality as a whole, as regards not only knowledge and understanding of the world but also actions: convictions provide direct motivation for action and general behavior.

The chief aim of our philosophical education activity is to consciously formulate a unified, systematic, scientifically based worldview for our students. Under the social conditions of socialism, a historic opportunity has opened up for taking the Marxist worldview to the masses. The tendency characterizing our present society is that of approaching Marxism, acquiring more and more elements of materialist philosophical culture and a trend toward philosophical clarity.

Of course, the mass spreading of Marxist Leninist worldview is a long process stretching over an extensive historical period. Philosophical education must always proceed with a view towards preserving and constantly strengthening our political alliance with all supporters of socialism and all workers.

Direct participation in socialist construction and the changes in objective material and social conditions, coupled with the spreading of Marxist-Leninist culture, represent the strongest force toward the shaping of a new consciousness which will gradually but inevitably lead to the general spreading of Marxist worldview among the masses.

Improving the quality of ideological and political education within the framework of party training makes it necessary to improve and systematize the direction and organization of party training; above all, we must improve the conceptual, educational and methodological quality of the work of propagandists. Better and more thorough propaganda work requires better work on the part of basic organizations and party committees. It is especially important to provide propagandists on a more systematic basis with information regarding social and economic tasks as well as ideological questions of the greatest interest. Party education is no longer a specialized assignment. In the coming period there will be a continuing need to further integrate it into the political activity of the party. There are practically no social, political or economic tasks where party propaganda could not make a contribution. This is what we must keep in mind in organizing and directing party education and the work of propagandists during the coming academic year.

9164

CSO: 2500

FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO PARTY WORK STRESSED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, 1979 pp 15-19

[Article by Dr Istvan Latos, subunit head of the MSZMP Central Committee:
"Development of Workstyle"]

[Text] In preparing for the 12th Congress, each party organization analyzes the efficiency of its work and the ways to improve the effectiveness of party work. The reserves for the development of political work lie in improvement of workstyles and working methods and the elimination of deficiencies, since, in practice, the basic forms and organizational framework of party direction and control have already been set.

Until now, the party committees of Budapest and nine megyes have put the general questions of workstyles and working methods on the agenda. These investigations provide some lessons which may be useful in the work of all party organizations and, in the final count, in the preparations for the party conferences.

The lessons are manifold; they encompass almost the entire life of the party. There are some critical points which, to some extent, are present in most party organizations and they do reduce the effectiveness of political work. One of these is whether the question of working style deserves a separate treatment. There exists a kind of smugness which suggests identification with the status quo using the well-known principle of "it worked in the past so it should work in the future." In truth, there is no question of some kind of "subversion": we are merely talking about more effective work using given fundamental methods. This is not just in the best interest of particular party organization: it is also their duty. The last congress, in talking about the work of the party, stated: "Completion of the present tasks of socialist construction and conscious shaping of social relationships and processes requires increasingly effective implementation of the leading role of the party...".

Working method and working style should always be a subject of importance: it can never be a campaign task. The investigations conducted thus far show that party organizations are correct when they are not simply repeating

the directives of the Working Group on Party Building of the Central Committee published in 1978 and use it instead as a yardstick for their own practice to help in arriving at the necessary conclusions.

One of the fundamental preconditions for the successful work and leadership role of the party is a workstyle consistent with the political direction. The fundamental task is to analyze this locally and to find out, based on local practice, whether workstyles are in accordance with the general political line of the party and the principles formulated in central resolutions, whether they are consistent with local political decisions and stands and whether they promote or hinder their implementation. In the execution of some resolutions one sometimes hears opinions like "here things are not quite the way they think up above." One can even meet statements such as "principles are one thing and practice is something else." Usually such views lead to efforts which relegate patient agitation and political argument to the background.

An important feature of a correct workstyle is the ability to recognize the correct direction of local action based on central resolutions formulating the political line of the party and the fundamental interests of society and to define concrete measures toward their implementation on the basis of local circumstances.

The lessons of the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Congress were summarized by the April 1978 session of the Central Committee. It stated the need for further increasing the political sensitivity of our party organizations and party membership. This, of course, is not a new demand with regard to practical work; it is, however, of great importance at present. Principled political stand and flexibility are needed in order for party organizations to work in accordance with the demands of reality, to give consideration to phenomena which have political implications and to be able to answer all questions asked by party members or non-members in every area of our society and economy.

For example, political sensitivity involves the kind of questions which the party organization regards as part of their political work. Are they all questions in which there is a need for a party organ to make a decision or take a stand, or are they appropriating the jurisdiction of other organizations in putting items which do not require a political decision on the agenda of party organizations?

Our experience indicates that the work of party organizations in this area is not yet completely satisfactory; in some cases, there is also a divergence of views. If we thoroughly examine the reasons for putting some topics on the agenda of organizations, we quite often find that there are still many routine items burdening the apparatus and the organization; they are being considered because "it has not been discussed for a long time" or just in order to improve the mix of topics. Organizations also discuss some topics which, although they require a political stand, are not timely subjects in a given period. This also contributes to repeated discussions on the same subjects.

An important prerequisite of unified action and good execution is the clear and concrete character of political decisions. They must reflect the central goal of party work, i.e., the direction of political action. Mere statements to the effect that "the quality of work must be improved and the initiative of party members must be developed" are worth very little, even though the goals themselves are approved by almost everyone. Such general indications cause hesitation on the part of those charged with implementing them, or they may end up doing precisely nothing. This is why we often see communists with party assignments within state and social organizations who often do not know what they are to represent and how they are to mobilize and educate those surrounding them. Such deficiencies are also present in cases of party assignments of an economic character. Due to the lack of concrete direction, party members involved in production often fail to comprehend what their personal assignments are in the achievement of economic policy goals.

Examination of working styles confirmed our day-to-day impressions to the effect that in many areas and many cases party meetings do not fulfill their proper role. This is in part due to the lack of sufficient attention to preparatory work in many party organizations; the agenda of meetings is sparse and too distant from the interests of the membership, debates are a mere formality and the meetings are not given an opportunity to truly make decisions regarding local questions within their jurisdiction. This requires, among other things, a better choice of items for the agenda of meetings and improved preparatory work on the part of the leadership of basic organizations. More successful work and activity on the part of the membership could be helped if more attention were paid to the atmosphere of the meetings of basic organizations. Some meetings are characterized at present by officiousness, coldness, rigidity and an excess formality. A more direct relationship is required between the leadership and the members, primarily to eliminate the obstacles which can kill the spirit of party meetings.

Long experience of party work shows that the correct choice and application of working styles can determine the conceptual quality and usefulness of intraparty debate as well as the activity of party members. Party unity and the correct formulation and implementation of tasks require development of our working method in such a way that questions on the agenda become the subject of true debate. For example, it is not correct to consider a meeting as active when we see the same people making the same speeches over and over again.

The practice of paying compulsory homage to certain topics or individuals must be reduced in order to improve the effectiveness of work. It is almost unbearable to hear even minimal criticism of individuals presented in a roundabout way and surrounded by a thousand good things regarding the person or the activity in question. The debate must be more sharply focused on the whys and wherefores of current tasks.

Some party organizations prefer to ask some members, knowledgeable in certain areas, to participate in the debate. There are some positive experiences to justify this method in cases where the contribution presents a new side of the question and thereby acts as a stimulant of the debate. In the majority of cases, however, these contributions to the debate are a mere formality. This is true especially in cases where the speaker is strictly limited with regard to the topics to be discussed, or, perhaps, his speech is written for him beforehand. A great deal of circumspection is necessary to decide in each case who should be asked beforehand to speak up at party meetings.

The 11th Congress and the April 1978 analysis of the Central Committee both called for more consistent application of resolutions. This demand can be satisfied only by subordinating the methods of party work even more to the execution of resolutions. There is a general tendency on the part of the apparatus and the membership of organizations to devote most of their energy to the preparation and analysis of resolutions; as a result, little time is left for the organization of execution. There are places where political work is, in fact, finished at the point of adopting a resolution. They think that they have done all they can toward success by formulating a correct stand or resolution. We often see that the assimilation and interpretation of higher resolutions boils down to mere definition of the direction of local activity; there is often a lack of action to create the political, personnel and other conditions necessary for their implementation in practice.

A favorable aspect of the control function of party organizations is the increasing variety of forms during recent years; there has been substantial development also of content. There has been an especially noticeable improvement in the accounting function of leadership organs and basic organizations. On the other hand, more attention must be focused on the extent to which the content of these functions can serve the strengthening of the leadership role of the party and increased personal responsibility in the fulfillment of political goals.

One frequently sees, especially in reports related to economic activity at directive organs or basic organizations, a situation where the presentation and the subsequent resolution discuss, in great detail, the technical aspects of the question, including production trends, labor situation, wage policies, etc. At the same time, too little attention is paid to the responsibility and effectiveness of the activity of party organizations and communists working within the unit under discussion or the possible help they may require. At party meetings it is not possible to separate the achievements and problems of an area from the examination of the effectiveness of political activity. The formulation of central tasks of political work is also indispensable for the definition of future tasks. If a party meeting does not do this, it will fail to perform its mission.

Surveys and debates that have taken place previously shows that movement-type methods must be developed in the work of party organizations;

organizational work aimed at argumentation, conviction and mobilization must be enriched and direct human contacts must be expanded. We must make a break everywhere with the occasional mistaken workstyles which are detrimental to the relationship between the party and the masses, e.g., still surviving mechanical or bureaucratic attitudes, etc. The political character of the work of the party as a movement excludes any kind of manuevering, the treatment of questions requiring specific answers with the line of "time will take care of it" or the neglect of so-called minute questions which may sooner or later lead to political tension.

We must also eliminate the deficiencies of mass political work, e.g., when openness, honesty and factualness are employed, albeit unintentionally, in such a way that they lead to pessimism, cynicism and increasing doubt instead of strengthening links to the masses. It should be made clear that what we need is not to confuse or make things seem better than they are: one of the virtues of our party is that it has spoken honestly and openly to the masses even in the most difficult situations. We need to apply the means and effective arguments of mass political work in a way that makes it clear that our considerable problems and difficulties exist against a background of our achievements.

One of the central features of our character as a political movement is the reliance of party work on a wide social base. Great masses of party members and non-party workers of mass organizations and movements are participating in the shaping of our policy. The work of the party helped by many thousands of social activists. In addition, there is a need to look for further opportunities to increase the social character of party work. This does not merely mean a reduction of the load on the full-time apparatus: it is a highly important political question. An obvious opportunity presents itself in the simplification of some types of work. For example, consideration might be given to whether it is necessary to start each topic to be discussed by meetings of party organs "from above," or whether it would be worthwhile to start by asking basic organizations to hold preliminary discussions regarding topics which require examination. This may enable us to utilize their experiences and, if the situation justifies this, the decision may be left within their own jurisdiction.

In recent years there has been increasing reliance on the operation of large numbers of committees in all areas of public life, including party work. Many questions could, however, be taken care of in a much more efficient and direct manner by occasionally calling on groups of party members to ask for and utilize their opinions and recommendations.

With regard to the social character of party work, there is too much emphasis, in some areas, on various types of conferences. Some people sometimes create the impression that without these it is not possible to accomplish anything.

Of course, the system of conferences as a form of activity cannot be eliminated altogether from the practice of party work. A conference with

well-chosen purpose and timing, organized with the participation of those most concerned, will provide an opportunity to reconcile opinions, exchange information, discuss tasks and, in the final count, to engage in constructive work. The need here is for the elimination of formalities. This means the dropping of meetings which are only good for checking off items in action plans or for repeating, to the same circle of participants, what they all heard many times before at other conferences.

The resolution to hold party meetings outside of working hours or with minimal impact on working hours has been incorrectly interpreted in many places. The question has been asked, more widely in the beginning and much less often at present, whether party work should be performed during or outside of working hours. This formulation of the question leads to a wholly superfluous and quite artificial debate. The resolution of the Political Committee was concerned not only with party work outside of working hours but with the holding of meetings in a rational manner with minimal impact on working hours. Therefore, one cannot and should not postpone questions arising during work and requiring a political answer, explanation or instantaneous action, with the idea of returning to them at the end of the workday. The overwhelming majority of our party organizations understood the point and the necessity of this resolution and, correctly, hold most of their meetings outside working hours; this was noted by the 19 December 1977 statement of the Secretariat. An important lesson, however, is that a substantial portion of our party organizations took only organizational measures to implement this resolution. They did not modify their working methods: in many areas, the agenda of meetings contained too many items, written materials have accumulated, there is still too much time spent in discussion, etc.

These facts once again call attention to the impossibility of regarding the workstyle and working method of the party as fixed once and for all. It is necessary to continuously modify them in accordance with demands arising from politics and the tasks faced by the party, to enrich the arsenal of party work and to increase its effectiveness. A suitable occasion to accomplish this will be presented at the party meetings and conferences leading up to the congress, when we can rely on the summary of 5 years of work to be able to form a judgment regarding the positive aspects of party work and identify the areas where change is necessary.

9164
CSO: 2500

INSTRUCTIONS FOR UPCOMING ACCOUNTING MEETINGS ISSUED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, 1979 pp 3-8

[Article by Janos Peter, deputy head of department of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Preparations for Accounting Meetings"]

[Excerpts] The 29 June 1979 session of the Central Committee adopted a resolution to convene the 12th Party Congress. Following the resolution, preparations have begun in every area.

Traditionally, basic party organizations have played a very important role in the preparation of congresses.

There has been significant progress in the activities of basic party organizations during the last five years. As a rule, they are fulfilling their role as defined by the organizational charter. Their increasingly important role in various areas of party life and society is generally recognized. This is closely related to widening democracy leading to strengthened independence and increasing autonomy on the part of local organizations. This has also increased expectations relative to basic party organizations.

There has been a sensible improvement in the direction of basic party organizations; the related party organs are paying more attention to assisting them in their work. Requirements concerning the membership of basic party organizations have been stated more clearly and unequivocally. It suffices to refer to the exchange of party membership cards and the related political activity in order to demonstrate this.

As before, each basic party organization will hold 2 meetings. The 2 meetings are closely related. The relationship is analogous to that between local politics and national party policies, where the former is a concrete part of the latter.

The first meeting will take place between 15 November and 15 December. During this meeting, the leadership will discuss the work performed since the 11th congress, evaluate the activities of the basic organization during

the past five years as they relate to the local implementation of party policies, the execution of resolutions by higher party organs and the basic organization, the ideological and political development of party membership and the fulfillment of party assignments. In order to do a thorough job, the leadership must analyze the extent to which local practices are consistent with party policy and discuss the related question of political responsibility or the lack thereof.

The entire party membership will take part in this work. The more members speak up and present their remarks and proposals, the more likely it is that a realistic picture will emerge. Thus, the preparatory work represents a good occasion to strengthen and deepen relations between the leadership and the party members, to engage in meaningful, honest discussion and lively debate. This is the only way to achieve organic unity between the presentation and evaluation phases.

After the presentation and the debate, the meeting will adopt a resolution defining the local political tasks of the next year; it will also elect officers for the meeting which will elect the new leadership. One of the most important aspects is the correct choice of the nominating committee. Consistent application of party democracy will increase the role of these committees in all respects. These positions must go to party members who enjoy the trust of the membership, are capable of correctly evaluating past performance of individuals, are aware of the party's principles on cadre policy, are able to rise above subjective impressions and are also able to resist possible unprincipled attempts to sway their opinion. Attention must also be paid, naturally, to the choice of the chairman of the meeting as well as the membership of the ballot committee.

Our goals are best served by insuring that the meetings have a definite working character. Communists must be given an opportunity to present their opinions and proposals. Therefore, the agenda of the accounting meeting should not contain any other items (admission to membership, disciplinary matters, etc.) and the meeting should be held outside of working hours.

Various conditions make these accounting meetings especially significant. We must analyze performance over a 6 year period during which the external and internal factors affecting our national economic development have changed substantially. This had a fundamental influence on the choice of priorities and the chief directions of activity. Under these conditions, the role and responsibility of party organizations and communists in the creation of the political conditions necessary for the fulfillment of local tasks have increased.

A more definite direction may be sensed in economic organization. Party organizations may "force" efficient and rational economic activity by more consistent application of conditions.

Party groups play an important role in the preparation of accounting meetings. This is primarily due to their status as the most direct collectives

of communists. This is where the work, behavior, political views, zeal, discipline and other human characteristics of individual party members are best known. During the coming period, party group meetings must perform their triple function (information, mobilization and education) even better.

Prior to party group meetings, there should be well-prepared conversations with individual party members. In this way, the group steward can become acquainted with the worries, problems and other factors affecting the ongoing work of group members as well as their individual views and recommendations. The discussion should not be restricted to the activities of the basic organization or the individual party member; it should include more general tasks facing the enterprise, institution and the party as a whole.

The party group meeting should be dominated by the analysis of the behavior and activities of the group and individual party members. The questions to be discussed include: evaluation of the fulfillment of party assignments; public activities, behavior of individual party members and their effect on those around them; their willingness to take a stand for party policy; their performance in day-to-day work. One may also utilize the technique, found useful during the period of the exchange of party cards, whereby party members in many places have first evaluated their own performance, then the opinion of the group was presented.

The party group meeting fulfills its role when, in addition to evaluating its own work in a critical and autocritical manner, it formulates an opinion on the performance of the leadership of the basic organization. The evaluation of the activities of the party group must include an analysis of the extent to which they consider their activities systematic and participate in the implementation of resolutions.

Another fundamental precondition for the effective work of accounting meetings is a high quality, critical and autocritical report. Therefore, the report of the leadership will be acceptable only if it analyses the achievements of the communists belonging to the basic organization in implementing the resolutions of the 11th Congress and the so-called "half-time" Central Committee session between the two congresses (19-20 April 1978).

Regarding the economic organization, assistance and control functions of party organizations, the leadership must analyze the possibilities and conditions for more efficient work organization and operations, quality improvements, rational savings and the expansion of economic exports. It should evaluate the initiatives of workers, the achievements of the socialist brigade movement and work competition; it should make recommendations regarding future development tasks. It should describe the role and political activities of the basic organization in the fulfillment of economic tasks as well as the cooperative effort by the leadership and economic management. The report should evaluate achievements and problems in the area of work discipline and socialist attitudes toward

work; it should deal with the development of working and living conditions by analyzing the relationship between local conditions and the general party policy on living standards.

In view of the temporary difficulties of the national economy, the tone of the report is especially important. Of course, problems must be brought up in an honest, even personal, way. At the same time, a suitable degree of acknowledgement must be given to the achievements because this is what provides true motivation for the fulfillment of future goals.

The report must also discuss the political direction of mass organizations and movements. It is especially important to discuss the dual role of trade unions, i.e., education and advocacy; the effectiveness of the organs of factory democracy; the accomplishments of KISZ in representing the interests of youth and educating them in a socialist spirit. The report should also discuss the judgment of the workers regarding the role and authority of the basic party organization.

The report cannot avoid the question of distortions in the interpretation of democratic centralism or in the behavior of individual party members; we can see problems of this sort every day. One-sided interpretations of democracy vs. centralism and separation of the two can be seen on occasion; this demands a suitable degree of political sensitivity and resolute action. At the same time, there are among us party members who, although agree with party policy in principle, tend to discard principles in the course of practical implementation and disregard the general political interest by looking for loopholes. Others are extremely quiet during party gatherings but are quite loud outside of them. These problems must be brought out in an honest and concrete manner, because this is also a reflection of the party atmosphere within the basic organization. On the basis of the foregoing, the report can objectively evaluate the discipline of the party membership. By analyzing the totality of circumstances, it can also judge the unity in action within the basic organization.

In the course of the analysis of political activity, it is not possible to avoid the role of cadres and the most important questions related to cadre work in general. Among these are the cadre work within the basic organization, assistance to cadre work within mass organizations, personnel work within the sphere of activity in question and exercise of the right of performance evaluation. It is especially important to analyze the extent to which the education and preparation of cadres was systematic, conscious and successful as well as the implications of cadre work for the achievements of the sphere of activity in question.

The report must place special emphasis on the work of party building and the education of the next generation. This also requires autocritical analysis, since a substantial portion of basic organizations have not admitted any new members for years and many communists have never recommended

a single person for membership. We must start from the fact that approaching the party is an indicator of the authority and influence of the party in a given environment. In areas which employ great numbers of manual workers, this is a political question of the highest importance. It is necessary to place more emphasis on the responsibility of individual communists in this regard. The extent to which the work of mass organizations provides a source of party membership should not be neglected. The need is for an honest and autocritical search for the true reasons behind the weakness of party building activity.

The evaluation by the leadership of its own performance is of paramount importance from the standpoint of the presentation and the spirit of the entire meeting. The quality of the work of basic organizations does not depend exclusively on the leadership; however, the importance and primary role of the leadership is beyond dispute. This responsibility must be reflected in the presentation. The evaluation must include the way in which leadership activity reflected Leninist workstyles, the extent to which the formulation of tasks relied on the party membership as well as the role of collective leadership and individual responsibility. The report should form an opinion on the leadership role of the party leadership or party committees concerned with regard to the direction of the basic organization. In this connection, an honest appraisal of deficiencies is necessary; this can do no harm to the authority of the leadership of the quality of the report.

The resolution of the accounting meeting must give a succinct evaluation of the work between the two congresses based on the report of the leadership and two congresses based on the report of the leadership and the debate. It should define the political tasks faced by the basic organization. These must be formulated on the basis of the following specific features:

- The fundamental goal of the formulation of political tasks is the political and organizational preparation of the basic organization for the implementation of congressional resolutions; thus, its importance requires that it be approved by the accounting meeting. It would not be correct to leave this task to the newly elected leadership.
- The definition of political tasks does not replace the functions of the semiannual working action plan of the basic organization, since these will be approved by the meeting following the election of leadership.
- The political tasks to be defined represent a framework which will be complemented by the concrete tasks arising from the assimilation of congressional resolutions.

It is advisable, immediately following the presentation of the report, for the representative of the party leadership organ or committee directing the basic organization to present the opinion of the higher party organ regarding the work of the basic organization between the two congresses, thereby providing an opportunity to discuss this together with the report.

The person representing the higher party organ or committee should classify the remarks and proposals presented in the course of the debate according to their character; he should either ask permission to speak once again at the end of the debate or forward these questions and proposals as questions requiring a formal position.

Since basic organizations are operating under diverse conditions affected by their character and operational circumstances, the above must not be taken as a general scheme. It should serve only as a rational guideline for the preparations.

The accounting meetings represent the first stage of the preparatory work of the 12th Congress. Their success if a precondition for future success in our work. This spirit of responsibility must serve as our guiding light during the preparatory phase.

9164
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TRADE UNION OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF UNIONS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Oct 79 p 5

/Interview with Laszlo Gal, SZOT deputy secretary general by Ilona Peter:
"Today's Tasks are Binding" date and place not given/

/Text/ Laszlo Gal was born in Budapest in 1925. He graduated from the Technical-Economic Academy and received post-graduate education in plant management. Since 1946, he has been a full-time union official, at first as a political coordinator. Then, in 1962, he became the executive secretary of the chemical workers' union. From 1962 to 1976 he was a secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT); since June 1976 he has held the position of deputy secretary general.

These days the public pays increasing attention to the work of the unions. This is natural since the changes that were instituted to help the country's economic progress, the formation of a more modern product mix, and the improvement of foreign trade balance through the political and government resolutions are beginning to be felt increasingly at the producing enterprise, offices, and institutions. The realization of these tasks requires a heightened struggle and responsibility but carries within it conflicts and controversies as well.

How does this manifest in the life and everyday work of the movement? This was the subject of the conversation between our writer, Ilona Peter, and Laszlo Gal, the deputy secretary of the SZOT.

/Question/ Where does the union movement see its place and role in the present stage of our economic development?

/Answer/ In my view, the union movement fills its role and place in our society. Our role is not static, though: the movement has to keep pace with the unceasing changes of life. Concerning the economic life, today's most important task is to fulfill the 1979 economic plan and prepare for the tasks of 1980 (in circumstances that are harsher than before, amidst the

the changes of production prices and economic regulatory systems) and the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It is well known that higher quality demands appeared in the economy and the demands to restore the economic balance, form a competitive and profitable product mix and produce better quality more efficiently have become more urgent and forceful. These vast tasks, to reform work and even man's thinking, will be aided by the unions through their own intrinsic tools. In other words, to adjust to these tasks, the union movement will have to undergo a reform of views and work methods. We have to master the view of "quantity," for example. In our everyday work, we will have to help the workers to understand that the tasks and demands that perhaps appear new to them are not transient and will be present in our socialist construct for a long time yet.

Question In today's changing circumstances, the workers expect a more effective defense of their interest from the unions. At the same time, the economic management of the companies place higher demands on them and require a more decisive support of their goals. How do you satisfy this double request?

Answer At times there are misunderstandings about the double function of the unions and thus it does not hurt to emphasize that the unions continue to regard the political and economic strengthening of the workers' power as their primary goal. This is the real base of their interest representation work. Today, more than ever, we need to support the realization of the economic policy goals, supporting the basic interests of the society. This may mean changes of products or techniques, new plant and work organizations, and even a rational and necessary regrouping of manpower in some companies. This means that we have to carry out our interest-defending work amidst changing circumstances and harsher conditions. We will have to do better and more sensitive work in defending the interests of the workman. E.g., we need, these days, to produce a wage structure with more incentives, honoring better work, a structure that differentiates better among workers and companies, in accord with their work output.

Question This is unavoidable and must be faced. The differentiated wage structure produces an incentive by spurring the laggards to better performance. The unions must support the goals of the economic leadership in places where they are, temporarily, unable to satisfy the higher demands but have the possibility to catch up to the best--in short, where they can produce better material conditions in a short time. The common social interest and rational thinking both require that we eliminate the production of goods that are not profitable. This will be accompanied by the regrouping of workers within and between companies. Hence there will be changes, affecting human fates and not just of workers. Where there is a reorganization, the working man, the engineer, and the office employee move together. This is not easy to take, even as the change is, in the final analysis, in their interest. Thus, we think it is very important that it is crystal clear to everyone why he has to move from his place, what are his opportunities at his new place of work, etc. The reorganization has to be done humanly, with circumspection, and with keeping the basic social interests of the workers in mind.

Question In a few places the managers claim that the local union activists--although they mean well and use, mostly, social considerations--support equality. In some places the social-political work of the unions is viewed as obstructivism and as a necessary evil. What is your view on these?

Answer We, along with everybody else, had to see what the need was. Many commented on the reasons in recent weeks. The basic structure of our price formation has become well-known: production prices must reflect cost and the cost must reflect in the consumer price. Today many workers see--even at the workplace--that our participation in world trade depends on our prices, costs, and quality. But we also have to see the wide-scale increase in consumer prices was dictated by a situation of force at a time when the country's economic situation did not allow a total offsetting of the price increases. This is the case only at the present time. Our long-term goal is to synchronize the real wages and incomes with the changes of consumer prices. No matter how strong old views are, we must face these changes.

Question "Our society can prosper only if the unions work well." We quote this very correct sentence from one of the speeches of SZOT's executive secretary. To link up with it, our last question is: when does the union work well, and what are the main areas drawing the attention of plant union officers?

Answer The unions fulfill their role on the given development level of the society. But as our social and socialist relations progress without cease, the unions have to renew their efforts. I have already mentioned the new tasks associated with helping the economy. I want to add: we have to do even more to exploit the workers' creative strength and willingness to act in order to preserve the movement's spirit of help and its critical capacity. This may lead to the freeing of the existing reserves also. We have to struggle in the movement against every form of bureaucracy and formalism. Our task is large but I still want to stress the need for the further development and strengthening of factory democracy because it is true that in our society things go better if good work is done in the factories and if everyone helps the realization of our special and economic goals in a disciplined and responsible manner, giving to the best of their abilities.

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ROMANIA

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES ANNOUNCED

Bucharest **BULETINUL OFICIAL** in Romanian Part I No 84, 27 Oct 79 p 2

[Article: "Presidential Decree on Removals and Appointments to Positions"]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Magdalena Filipas is appointed to the position of first deputy minister of light industry.

Article 2--Comrade Stefan Croitoru is appointed to the position of deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity.

Article 3--Comrade Marin Stoianovici is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 4--Comrade Nela Ionescu is relieved of her position as deputy chairman of the State Committee for Prices and appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 5--Comrade Constantin Caloianu is appointed state secretary in the State Planning Committee.

Article 6--Comrade Gheorghe Vlad is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology and appointed to the position of deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology.

Article 7--Comrade Nicolae Amza is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology.

Article 8--Comrade Lidia Oradean is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Health.

Article 9--Comrade Ioan Anconica is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology.

Article 10--Comrade Sever Georgescu is relieved of his position as first deputy prosecutor general.

Bucharest, 24 October 1979
No 328.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

AMENDMENT OF DECREE--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Decree No 738/1969 on the organization and operation of the State Planning Committee, which became Law No 65/1969, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows: Article 17 will read as follows: "Article 17--The State Planning Committee has in its leadership a chairman, a first deputy chairman-minister state secretary who is a member of the government, a first deputy chairman, eight deputy chairmen, one of whom is director general of the General Directorate of State Reserves, and two state secretaries. The first deputy chairmen, the deputy chairmen and the state secretaries are appointed by presidential decree and their functions are stipulated by the leadership council of the State Planning Committee." [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 27 Oct 79 p 1]

NEW PEOPLES COUNCILS OFFICIALS--Inasmuch as some deputy chairman positions in the executive committees of the peoples councils of Bihor and Ialomita counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Dumitrescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bihor County and Comrade Baiut Sirbu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 83, 23 Oct 79 p 6]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

NEW COASTAL MAP PUBLISHED BY HYDROGRAPHIC INSTITUTE

Zagreb GEODETSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian No 4-6, 1979 pp 157-158

/Article by Graduate Engineer Dr Filip Racetin/

[Text] Last year Yugoslav coastal cartography achieved a great new success when, just before New Year's Day of 1979, the Naval Hydrographic Institute in Split published the new coastal navigation map No 100-17, from Losinj to Molat, in a scale of 1:100,000. This is the next to last in a series of 16 new coastal maps of the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The 16th and last is in preparation and will be completed and published in 1979.

The mathematical bases of the map were calculated and the originals prepared by engineers and cartographers of the Naval Hydrographic Institute. The composition of the map was done on the basis of data of the new hydrographic status of the Adriatic Sea. The maps are prepared in a Mercator projection with a focal latitude of $44^{\circ} 25'$ North. The calculations were done on a computer following the Bessel ellipsoid data. The depths in meters are stated relative to the lowest average levels of the sea at low tide, and altitudes are expressed in meters above the average sea level.

The map is projected in a series of coastal charts that form a navigational entity, including the sea and island territory between the meridians $\lambda_1 = 13^{\circ} 50'$ and $\lambda_2 = 15^{\circ} 00'$ east geographical longitude, and between the parallels $\phi_1 = 44^{\circ} 09'$ and $\phi_2 = 44^{\circ} 43'36''$ north geographical latitude. The map shows the southern portions of Cres and Rab, the islands Unije, Susak, Losinj, Ilovik, Premuda, Silba, Olib, Maun, Skrda, Ist Molat, portions of Pag, Sestrunj and Zvernica, and the northern portion of Dugi Otok, as well as the sea regions of Kvarner, Kvarneric, and Virsko more, and the Losinj, Pag, Maun, Pohlip, Olip, Silban, Rivanj, Sestrunj and Tun channels.

The relief of the littoral belt and the islands is shown by isohypsies in brown with a 100 meter equidistance. For practical reasons every fifth isohypse is darkened. Land points of importance are marked.

The sea bottom is marked by isobaths at 2, 5, 10, 20 and 50 meters, and the coastal shelf to a depth of 10 meters is colored light blue.

Electrical lines, underwater cables, magnetic variations and certain other navigational data are shown with conventional cartographic signs or in words using violet ink.

The map has been prepared using the most modern technical procedures, and is distinguished by high geometric accuracy, geographic dependability, completeness, and a nice esthetic appearance. Along with the abundance of data, it is very easily surveyed for major points, which is a result of masterful execution of cartographic generalization and the most modern cartographic expression techniques.

The map has been printed by offset in five colors (black, blue, yellow, violet and brown) on "special maritime chart paper" of high quality, produced by the Radece Paper Plant at Zidani Most, in Slovenia. The format is 70 X 100 CM.

This map will be received happily by those who sail the sea routes shown on it and by fishermen, owners of sports boats, and other users of maritime maps.

The map is being sold by the institution for the maintenance of navigable waterways in Split, Lazareta Street No 1 (in the building of the port authority) and in its branches in Koper, Pula, Rijeka, Zadar, Sibenik, Ploce, Korcula, Dubrovnik and Kumbor, as well as at the Mladost book store in Zagreb, Kvaternik Square 12. The price of the map is 80 dinars.

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